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Shevardnadze Conducts Working Visit to New York

Confers With FRG's Genscher

LD2509055290 Moscow TASS in English 0526 GMT 25 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Kochetkov, Vladimir Menkes, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] United Nations September 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher here on Monday.

Genscher, welcoming the Soviet minister at the West German permanent mission at the United Nations, expressed "deep satisfaction with the results of the recent foreign ministers meeting in Moscow under 'two plus four' formula on the external aspects of German reunification."

He voiced deep gratitude to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders for their great personal contribution to and participation in the successful solution to the problem. "Our relations do not stop at that. On the contrary, they will undergo further development," Genscher said.

In response to journalists' questions about issues that are to be considered at the 45th session of the U.N. General Assembly, Shevardnadze said that the number of items on the agenda is large but that the Gulf situation, naturally, will figure most prominently among them.

The Gulf situation, he said, "is now darkening the overall atmosphere in the world." A U.N. Security Council meeting on September 25 will deal with this problem, he added.

The session is believed to express satisfaction with the solution to the German reunification issue which has for long been "a stumbling block and the subject of discord" in the world community, Shevardnadze emphasised. The consideration of economic issues and conditions for the ensurance of security, peace and stabililty in the world will also figure importantly, he said.

The meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher "was as usual a good, fruitful and utterly essential one," Shevardnadze told the journalists after the meeting.

"We continued to discuss bilateral relations with a future reunited Germany, the relations which are now really entering a new stage. The potential of these relations is immense," Shevardnadze said.

"First of all, I want to say that the development of our bilateral cooperation fully accords with the interests of the peoples in Europe and the world as a whole," Shevardnadze emphasised.

The two foreign ministers considered matters aimed at signing a treaty on the development of large-scale cooperation in the economy, industry, science and technology as well as an agreement determining terms for the stay and systematic withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany and the associated settlement concerning some transitional measures which are expected to be decided upon prior to German reunification.

"Availing myself of this opportunity, I want to point out that a thrilling German reunification ceremony will be held in several days' time and, as a participant in the process, I would like wholeheartedly to congratulate the Germans on the event," Shevardnadze said.

In a talk to journalists, the two foreign ministers specially emphasised that an unprecedented level of cooperation and trust has now been achieved in Soviet-German relations. Genscher invited Shevardnadze to visit a reunited Germany and in particular the location of one or two garrisons of Soviet troops that will remain there for some time. "It is very important that Soviet soldiers leave Germany as genuine friends of the Germans," Genscher pointed out.

"The two foreign ministers discussed a wide range of issues," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS. "Bilateral relations, primarily matters connected with the ratification of a large-scale treaty on goodneighbourly relations, partnership and cooperation between the Soviet Union and a reunited Germany naturally figured prominently during the talks," he said.

It must be noted that all matters concerning bilateral relations were considered within the context of all-European processes. A draft agenda for an all-European summit, to be held in Paris in November, was yet another important problem considered by the two ministers.

"In this connection the two sides emphasised the importance of signing a treaty in Paris on conventional arms reductions.

"Agreement was reached, in particular, on holding a new meeting of experts in New York now to work out the issue.

"The Soviet minister believes that the drafts of an agenda for the Paris summit are good and that they have a fine basis. The sides also endorsed France's proposal to establish new European institutions, a Berlin centre in particular," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The two ministers devoted much attention to the discussion of the Gulf situation and expressed concern over the current development of events in the region, emphasised an utter necessity for the implementation of the respective resolutions of the U.N. Security Council.

In this connection the two sides also pointed out the importance and topicality of an overall statement of the Middle East conflict.

Meets Poland's Skubiszewski

LD2509102490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Excerpt] New York, 25 Sep (TASS)—[passage omitted] E.A. Shevardnadze had a conversation with K. Skubiszewski, Poland's minister of foreign affairs. Satisfaction was expressed at the progress of Soviet-Polish relations, which are now built upon new principles of goodneighborliness. It was noted that in the conditions of democratization new opportunities are opening up for expanding Soviet-Polish ties, specifically through developing contacts between Poland and Ukraine, Belorussia, and other republics of the USSR.

The matter of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Polish territory was touched on. E.A. Shevardnadze stressed that there are no political problems here for the USSR. The issues can only be of a technical nature, and we welcome the Polish Government's proposal to start talks on this matter.

Considerable attention was given during the conversation to European problems, specifically in the light of German unification. K. Skubiszewski spoke well of the Soviet diplomatic line on settlement of the external aspects of building German unity. He expressed gratitude for the Soviet side's contribution to resolving the issue of the borders through the "two-plus-four" machinery. The ministers agreed that the Moscow treaty on a final settlement on Germany fully serves the interests of the peoples of the USSR and Poland and the other peoples of Europe. The Polish minister described the assertions sometimes made about the existence of some kind of problems concerning the border in relations between Poland and the USSR as absurd. The Polish Government and people, he said, accept the existing border.

At E.A. Shevardnadze's meeting with J. Poos, minister of foreign affairs of Luxembourg, a wide range of international problems was discussed, including the European process and the importance of efforts to achieve a universal settlement in the Near East. Bearing in mind that Luxembourg will hold the EC presidency for the first half of next year, stress was laid on matters concerning the development of the USSR's cooperation with the EC. The ministers looked at progress in preparing for the Luxembourg prime minister's visit to the USSR.

Decries Saddam's Latest Threats

LD2509115590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, has called the threats made by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn about possible attacks in the area of the Persian Gulf and the Near East "impermissible." This region, he told journalists following his meeting at the UN's New York headquarters with his British counterpart Douglas Hurd, is highly explosive and packed with weaponry. In the course of the meeting the ministers also expressed confidence that the world community had taken the correct course to oppose Iraq's aggression.

TASS Reports Gerasimov's 24 Sep News Briefing

'Difficulties' at Vienna Talks

LD2409142890 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Difficulties existing at the Vienna talks on reductions in conventional armaments in Europe "should prompt the intensification of work, rather than its curtailment", Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing today.

He was commenting on recent remarks by James Woolsey, head of the U.S. delegation to the talks.

The U.S. diplomat expressed pessimism about prospects for the conclusion of an agreement on this issue by November 19, when a summit of the 35-nation Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe is due to open in Paris. The summit is expected to sign this document.

"The international situation nowadays is changing every day and very quickly," Gerasimov said. "No doubt, this has an impact on the drafting of the difficult, unprecedented agreement in Vienna.

"We hope that the Vienna agreement will be ready in time and that it will objectively reflect the existing military-political situation in Europe."

Finnish Stance on German Unity

LD2409135490 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Commenting on the Finnish Government's September 21 decision on some provisions of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 concerning Germany and infringing upon Finnish sovereignty, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing today:

"We view the Finnish side's position, as formulated in this decision, in the spirit of the friendly relationship of trust that has existed between the USSR and Finland in line with the 1948 treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance."

He noted that the significance of the treaty was [words indistinct] in a special statement made on the same day by President Mauno Koivisto.

Gerasimov said that the Soviet and Finnish foreign ministries are now discussing issues covered by the Finnish Government's decision.

Publication of Havel's Plays

LD2409155190 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—The Soviet Khudozhestvennaya Literatura publishers' has compiled a book of plays by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The book, named "Hard To Concentrate," includes plays written in the 1960's "A Holiday in the Garden," "Notification," and "Hard To Concentrate," one-act plays "Audience," "Opening Day" and "Problems" written in the 1970's when the author was considered a dissident, and two of his latest plays "Temptation" (1985) and "Reconstruction" (1987).

Gerasimov said the idea to translate Havel's plays had been suggested by young translators in October last year. In their work they used books published in Britain, Germany, Canada, Denmark, France, and the United States.

"A Holiday in the Garden," "Notification," and "Hard To Concentrate" were published in Czechoslovakia in 1966 and never reissued, while "Audience," "Opening Day," "Problems," and "Temptation" have never been published in Czechoslovakia, Gerasimov said.

Gerasimov noted that the issue of the book testifies to the great interest of Soviet people in creative activities of Havel, a man of an unusual fate, a writer who has become president and reflects the spirit of current changes.

Meeting With Singapore Minister

LD2409125190 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who arrived in the Soviet Union today, held talks with his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov and is expected to be received by President Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday [26 September], Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here.

He said that the development of relations with Singapore is "an important aspect of Soviet policies in the Asia-Pacific region". "We appreciate the fact that Singapore positively responds to Soviet perestroyka and is prepared to facilitate Soviet economic reforms," Gerasimov added.

He said that the Soviet-Singapore economic commission, meeting a few days before, mapped out guidelines for economic and technological cooperation between the two countries. "A number of agreements are expected to be signed," Gerasimov said.

Upcoming Angolan Peace Talks

LD2409135190 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Soviet and U.S. experts will attend as observers the forthcoming round of peace talks between the Angolan Government and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels, opening in Lisbon, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here that the Soviet Union "supports Portugal's mission to achieve national reconciliation in Angola".

Denial of Raid in Afghanistan

LD2409145590 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today refuted reports by the Voice of America radio station that Soviet aircraft and helicopters made an air raid from Soviet territory and bombed the Afghan Badghis Province, after rebels breached the defences of the town of Murgab.

According to reports from Kabul, no serious rebels' movements were registered in the region, and there was no Soviet air raid from Soviet territory, Gerasimov told a briefing.

He described as an invention the recent report by THE PAKISTAN TIMES newspaper that Soviet troops had been brought to Wakhan panhandle in accordance with the plan of India's attack on Pakistan with the participation of Kabul, worked out in Moscow.

GDR Finalizes Withdrawal From Warsaw Pact

PM2409200190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On the Withdrawal of the GDR National People's Army From the Warsaw Pact Organization's Structure"]

[Text] In connection with Germany's forthcoming unification on 3 October 1990, the signing of a protocol on

the withdrawal of the GDR National People's Army troops from the structure of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces took place in Berlin 24 September.

The protocol was signed by R. Eppelmann, GDR minister of disarmament and defense, and Army General P.G. Lushev, commander in chief of Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces.

Gorbachev Receives Prominent Muslim Figures

LD2209100790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0922 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Sep (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev Friday received in the Kremlin a group of prominent Islamic figures who have been participating in the Islamic conference which ended recently in Tashkent. It was devoted to the spiritual legacy of the outstanding theologian and thinker Al-Termezi.

Noting the great significance of the spiritual religious forum in strengthening mutual understanding between the peoples, the USSR president stressed that the ideas of one of the most respected scholars in the Islamic world today, 1,200 years later, takes on considerable significance in solving the moral and ethical problems of our time. They bring people a sense of justice, goodness, and love.

A committed discussion took place on the influence of perestroyka in the USSR on the processes taking place in the modern world, on the role of Islam in the implementation of the ideas of values common to mankind, including achieving peace in the Near East, and in particular in the Persian Gulf. The USSR president expressed conviction that the participants of the Islamic conference, having returned to their countries, will continue their active efforts in helping the Muslim world find a path to solving arising conflicts and to peace and calm in the region.

'Top Priority' Program Reviews Gulf Situation

LD2209124490 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 22 Sep

["Top Priority" program moderated by Sergey Goryachev, with Sergey Plekhanov and Viktor Kremenyuk, deputy directors of the United States and Canada Institute]

[Text] [Goryachev] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority," Radio Moscow's panel discussion. I am Sergey Goryachev.

The ruling Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq broadcast a statement denying reports that Iraq might compromise on the Gulf crisis. The statement said that Iraq would not back down or retreat from Kuwait and that Iraq would fight to final victory. The Iraqi information minister, Latif Jasim, has said in his interview to the press that in the event of an attack Iraq would destroy all oil deposits in the Persian Gulf. Also, the United Nations Security Council will be imposing an air embargo against Iraq to expand the existing trade sanctions currently enforced by naval blockade.

Well, we will discuss developments in the Gulf today with my guests in the studio, two deputy directors of the United States and Canada Institute in Moscow. We have Sergey Plekhanov and VIktor Kremenyuk. How do you do, welcome.

[Goryachev] Let me begin by asking both of you what do you think about the chances for a peaceful solution in the Gulf. Have they increased or have they diminished in the past two weeks as compared to the period right after the summit? Go ahead Viktor Kremenyuk.

[Kremenyuk] Well, I cannot say whether these chances have increased or decreased. I can say only one thing, which is becoming more and more evident with each day; that is, it was a bit naive and too premature to hope that the crisis could be resolved within some short span of time. There were some statements which indicated that it would be enough, you know, just to press Iraq and then there would be a solution. It seems that the solution can be achieved. I do not exclude the possibility of such a solution, but it will be achieved in quite a long time, following a long period of embargoes, sanctions, pressure, diplomatic maneuvers, negotiations, and so on. But at least I am sure that both superpowers have indicated that they will never accept the result of this aggression. They will never agree to the annexation of Kuwait and that means that inevitably there will be the solution that we all of us, we want.

[Goryachev] All right, let me put the question this way to you, Sergey Plekhanov. How do you think the summit has affected developments in the Gulf, if there is any imprint of the summit on the Gulf crisis?

[Plekhanov] Well, of course I think the summit did contribute to the strengthening of the pressures on Iraq. It has demonstrated that the international community is not split in its attitudes to the Gulf crisis. Even though there are differences between the Soviet Union and the United States on some particular points, the area of consensus is wide enough for the two countries to cooperate in adopting international measures to force Iraq back from Kuwait by nonmilitary means. And at the same time the two countries agreed that if the political means are not effective then they will think about other measures, so there is a consensus around that point as well.

[Goryachev] Talking about the time factor—you talked about the time factor—it is almost two months since Iraq invaded Kuwait. And talking about this time factor, how does this affect the world public opinion in the Arab world, in the West, in the Soviet Union? How does this time factor affect decisionmaking? If this stalemate continues for another two months, for another four months or more, will that play in the hands of Iraq or will that turn out to be against it?

[Kremenyuk] Well, I think that the time factor has rather a crucial role in the whole thing. And one of the most important implications of this factor is that, you know, there is a growing disillusionment in the world community with the possibilities, or capabilities of the superpowers, or the great powers, of the capabilities of the UN, and so on, since the people, say the people...

[Goryachev interrupting]... to force Iraq to come—to (?free it).

[Kremenyuk] Yes, of course. The people are, well, are absolutely unhappy with what happened, you know. This is really a case of a sheer aggression of one power against a small state, you know, and so on, and the people want this to be prevented. And, as I told earlier, you know, it is evident that the liquidation or the solution of the crisis will take a long time. That will, of course, increase, you know, the understanding among different layers of people that, well, that the great powers are not that efficient as they could be.

[Goryachev] Yes, and speaking about the military solution, I think that this stalemate gives ground to some people towards their desire to strike and resolve the issue militarily, do not you think so?

[Plekhanov] You are right, it does increase the temptation in some circles to try and achieve a quick victory over Saddam Husayn. But I think that the more sober people, and they are in control right now, realize that there is no quick fix here and that a military solution, a strike against Iraq, would result in tremendous casualties and would lead to unpredictable consequences worldwide. So, right now the costs of the blockade, the cost of the sanctions, and of the continuing occupation of Kuwait by Iraq are infinitesimal compared to the costs of a military operation against Iraq. One has to weigh the lives of probably hundreds of thousands of people, most of them innocent, most of them nonmilitary personnel who would be lost in case of a war around the Gulf, including a lot of nationals from other countries, including the Soviet Union. We have 6,000 citizens there; we have a right to be concerned about that. So, I think that every time somebody gropes for the trigger there will have to be real serious thought about the consequences, and that kind of stops the hands of the impatient people. I think the current policies vis-a-vis Iraq should be given a chance to work. I am sure that it can force Iraq back from Kuwait.

[Goryachev] Yes, it is difficult to make any forecasts, but what is the time framework that you hypothetically give to this process of pressure by peaceful means? Or do you think that the time will come when you will say, yes, all peaceful means have been used in vain and that another military action should be taken?

[Plekhanov] I do not think there should be any timetable in this respect. It is not that at the expiration of a certain period of time (?they) say well, now is the time for military action. That is not the way to do it. I think a military action might become unavoidable if there is some provocation, if there is some really flare-up or some terrible brutality taking place, something crisis-like.

[Kremenyuk] I can only draw your attention to the fact that so far no one among the UN Security Council was speaking about deadlines and that is understandable, you know. But I do not exclude due to the time factor that at some point, at some trigger, maybe, stage [as heard] the need will appear to set some deadline and then to think, you know, what to do after that.

[Goryachev] Yes, I wish that would never happen, but let us talk about the role of the Soviet Union in the Gulf crisis. Yes, we have committed ourselves to working together with the United States and with other countries to restore peace and order in the Gulf. We have publicly condemned the aggression and we have supported sanctions against Iraq. All right, but the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iraq, which was signed on 9 April in 1972, is still in force. Now can these two things go together?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think, of course, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq puts into great doubt this kind of a treaty. Of course, when we signed it it was not for the purpose of encouraging actions like this. That is why it was entirely proper for the Soviet Union to stop executing some of the points of the agreement the moment Iraq invaded Kuwait. So we already kind of suspended certain parts of the treaty in response to Iraq's aggression.

[Kremenyuk] I think that, you know, the fact of the Iraqi aggression and the reaction by the Soviet Government, or the response of the Soviet Government to this aggression, of course they give a possibility to think about abrogating the treaty. I do not...

[Goryachev, interrupting] Yes, the issue—excuse me—the issue was raised by some of the legislators at the parliament.

[Kremenyuk] Yes.

[Goryachev] But the decision has not been made.

[Kremenyuk] Oh, well, I understand it is one thing, you know, to raise the issue, the other thing is to make a decision and I think that maybe the government works on this issue also since, well, the treaty existed for almost 20 years, you know. There are some relations developed among the Soviet Government and the Iraqi Government and—so it could be difficult, you know, to abrogate it immediately. On the other side, I think the existence of this treaty, existence—maybe it has stopped now, but it still exists—gives the possibility to the Soviets to talk maybe more confidentially to the Iraqi Government and to try to explain to them, you know, all the unacceptability of their actions, of their aggression, and so on.

[Goryachev] Yes, that is a good point, through...

[Kremenyuk, interrupting] Sure.

[Goryachev] ...this is a diplomatic channel which the Soviet Union can use to maintain its own pressure on Iraq.

[Plekhanov] Right, and it is a channel that is needed by the whole world community because, if we are talking about a possibility of a political solution, there has got to be negotiating channels, and this is one of them.

[Goryachev] But, Sergey, let me make it clear. You have a feeling that economic cooperation and economic support by the Soviet Union towards Iraq has been suspended although the treaty is in force. This is my feeling. Am I right?

[Plekhanov] Yes, that is right. The treaty is technically in force but those positions of the treaty which are incompatible with the United Nations position are being suspended, have been suspended.

[Goryachev] Yes, the time when all the decisions in the Soviet Union were taken unanimously have passed, of course, and we have the official position on Iraq expressed by the Soviet president and he acts according to this position. But are there any divisions within the Soviet leadership or within the military as to how to handle the crisis? I cannot believe that there is only one point of view. Well, if you know of any divisions, could you outline them? What are the views expressed by different layers of the society and of the military, of the leadership? Viktor, go ahead.

[Kremenyuk] Yes, all right. I can very easily imagine that, of course, there are different approaches. The same as in the United States, or in the United Nations. Of course there are different approaches. There are people who think that maybe we should be more active in helping militarily to Kuwait, in joining this force. And as an example, last night when we were talking on this, on the other radio, radio talk, there was a call from a Soviet citizen who volunteered to join, you know, the United States expeditionary corps there in Kuwait. I understand, of course, that there are people who are so outraged by the fact of this aggression that they would insist that we should be active. There are wiser people who think that if all the world community rushed, you know, just to attack Iraq, we should not be in the same boat because we should use our capabilities, you know, to lower the tensions, to try to find a solution since a solution is possible. I believe in that, you know, but we should try first of all to prevent a war, a real big war in that area. Such a war would be catastrophic. It would be disastrous for the world economy, for the area, even for the security interests of the Soviet Union. I think that in this case, of course, the people who support this approach so far have much more leverage than the other group.

[Goryachev] What do you...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] I would like to add to that. There was some concern expressed by some people in the Soviet military about the buildup of the American military forces in the Persian Gulf, because the Persian Gulf is rather close to the southern borders of the Soviet Union, and there was a concern that if the American troops were to stay there that would affect the overall balance of military power in the vicinity of the Soviet Union. But when President Bush made a statement that the U.S. troops would leave the area when the need for them, the need made necessary by the Gulf crisis, would be removed that allayed the concern, I think, to some extent.

[Goryachev] But there have been some pronouncements in the United States just recently that the United States is planning to remain there. I mean, this contradicts President Bush's pledges.

[Plekhanov] Yes.

[Goryachev] I have heard about that.

[Plekhanov] Yes, I think that the position is rather contradictory and that calls for more discussions and consultations.

[Goryachev] Well, do you foresee any Soviet military participation in the forces in the Gulf? I mean, this is the question which is currently asked very often when we discuss the Gulf crisis. The Soviet Union does not agree to send its forces. Is this due to domestic problems or is it a matter of our international policies?

[Plekhanov] There is no military need for Soviet forces to be there. The international force already assembled is big enough. Number two, the Soviet Union is on record that if there is a United Nations decision to form a multinational force under the UN auspices, then there is a possibility the Soviet Union might take part.

[Kremenyuk] Well, maybe I would be briefer in my answer. You know, since the Soviet Government strongly supports the resolution of the UN Security Council on sanctions against Iraq, and the Soviet Union supports the idea of formation of a multinational force under the auspices of the UN Security Council, of course that means that the Soviet Union is potentially ready to join this force.

[Goryachev] And now the final thing I would like to ask you about is the role of Iran in this crisis. We have a report that Iraq has asked Iran if the two countries can join their oil pipelines. That move would allow Iraq to partly bypass the international embargo against the country. Is that potentially possible that Iran would support Iraq and that would make it more difficult to enforce the sanctions? Or do you think that Iran would not go against the international public opinion?

[Kremenyuk] Well, my assessment is that the government in Iran of course is very concerned about the whole situation there, but it has some ideas of its own. One of them is somehow to exploit the situation, and it has already happened when it wrenched out the territorial concessions from Iraq.

[Plekhanov] Yes.

[Kremenyuk] [words indistinct] On the other hand, the government in Tehran of course is not ready to back up Saddam, you know, and to confront the world community, because of Saddam. But it is its own fears, you know, which come from its traditional position, a position vis-a-vis East and West, I mean the Soviet Union and the United States, and it tries somewhat distance itself from this crisis. I think that this is not an unacceptable position. It is quite an acceptable position, provided that Iran will not really help or somehow try to assist Iraq in somehow circumventing the international sanctions.

[Goryachev] Yes, I think that the crisis and the resolutions adopted by the Security Council demonstrate that it is dangerous nowadays to oppose the world community, and I think that all countries now realize that.

And that brings us to the end of this program which was "Top Priority," presented today by Sergey Goryachev. My guests were two deputy directors of the United States and Canada Institute Studies [as heard] in Moscow, Sergey Plekhanov and Viktor Kremenyuk. Join us next week, same time, same station. Good-bye for now.

Bovin Assesses Global Consequences of Summit

PM2109123190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Aleksandr Bovin under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Close-Up on Helsinki"]

[Text] The majority of political events as a rule only find their way into newspapers. The more important ones are later awarded analysis in respectable journals. And the most important of all become the subject of scientific monographs. It seems to me that the meeting in Helsinki between the two presidents will go through all three stages. Because the Helsinki talks between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush are not only one fact, albeit a very important one, in current foreign policy activity but also a notable point, it may be said a watershed, on the overall trajectory of world development in the 20th century.

The talks in Helsinki mark the boundary between world orders of fundamentally different types and the transition from one world order to another.

The world order that is receding into the past is inherently connected with 1917. Whatever some "masters of perestroyka" may write, whatever "discoveries" they may make, it was the greatest revolution in the history of mankind. Marx called the Paris communards "the stormers of the sky." This could be said with even greater justification of the Russian communards. The October Revolution—imposing in design and, as we now know, tragic in results—was an attempt to break down and blow up the old world, the world of exploitation, private ownership, and the market struggle for existence and at a stroke to break through, to strike through to a new human universe. In other words, to move from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

The attempt failed. But the fracturing of history, the antagonism of two worlds and two systems, caused a confrontation between capitalism and what we have grown accustomed to call socialism—a confrontation which has filled the entire 20th century. A pernicious confrontation, let us add. A beneficial, life-giving confrontation, the heroes of that era will exclaim. Speaking in June 1931 at an emergency session of the USSR Academy of Sciences, N.I. Bukharin said: "The deep split in the world is the basic fact of world history at the present time. All previous breaks and zigzags on the paths of history and all the well known historical passes—be they the great peasant revolutions of ancient China, the fall of the ancient world, the defeat of the old Eastern despotic systems, or the bourgeois revolutions, beginning with the English revolution, the Renaissance, and the so-called reformation or the collapse of Genghis Khan's gigantic kingdom—all these stages in the world historical route of mankind quantitatively and qualitatively, in breadth, depth, progress and historical results, cannot be compared with the historic changes characteristic of the time in which we are living...

"...The heavy blocks of economic relations are being overturned, the 'eternal' social and class pyramid is toppled, old prejudices are being destroyed, the struggle is entering all the pores of social existence, it is pervading science, the arts, philosophy, it is eroding the old way of life, it is reforging all habitual and traditional relations; the struggle between economic principles, the material struggle of the classes, is turning into a great struggle between two cultures and two world outlooks, into an unprecedentedly enormous struggle of ideologies... Now mankind is crossing the threshold of all previous development and advancing toward a completely new historical existence."

I have cited this lengthy extract from Bukharin's report so that the 1990 reader can feel the world perception of the people who made history in those remote times. And although the war cry "Go for Warsaw! Go for Berlin!" was soon replaced by the neat appeals for "a new historical existence," Moscow was viewed by the capitalist world not as the capital of Russia but rather as the headquarters of the Communist International. An "unprecedently enormous" struggle of ideologies was imposed on the ordinary (intra-imperialist and so forth) contradictions of interest which put international life in a fevered state. Suspicion, distrust, hostility, the exhausting arms race made such an ideologized world order unstable, fraught with the danger of open conflicts, explosions, and head-on collisions between the two systems.

In my view three major circumstances gradually begun to undermine this world order.

First, the marked transformation and change in capitalism. The leaders of the world bourgeoisie were able to

draw lessons from our revolution and go halfway to meet the demands of the workers' movement. A mechanism of state regulation of the economy is appearing and being improved. The economic and social position of the working people and main mass of the population is gradually improving. The acuteness of social antagonisms is being blunted and the pitch of the class struggle is being reduced. Time has begun to erode the classic signs of imperialism formulated by V.I. Lenin. The well known thesis "imperialism is the final stage of capitalism" has not stood the test of time.

Second, it is becoming increasingly obvious that societies which call themselves socialist and are various versions of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism are entering an impasse. They have been unable to guarantee political freedoms and civil rights, to create an effectively operating economy, or to keep in step with scientific and technical progress. They have obviously lost the economic and social competition against modern capitalism. Our perestroyka, which seems to have stopped "heeding" those who brought it to life, the radical changes in East Europe, including history's first transition from socialism to capitalism, in the GDR, have dramatically emphasized the crisis of socialism, the crisis of its practice and theory.

Third, the emergence and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, the uncontrolled, spontaneous development of the technosphere, the "second nature" which is oppressing its natural basis—all this has created a real possibility of mankind's suicide. Hamlet's "to be or not to be" now applies not only to one man but to the entire human species. The problem of survival is advancing to the front of the historical stage, which is casting doubt on many traditional provisions of foreign political and military strategy.

So, let us return to Helsinki.

The sum total effect of the circumstances listed as the East and the West become aware of them has made global confrontation not only mortally dangerous but also pointless on the social plane. World revolution and world war as a means of explaining relations between labor and capital and between two systems are losing their historical justification. Initially objective and then subjective prerequisites are emerging for overcoming the great confrontation between peoples and states—a confrontation which has been under way since 1917—and for creating a new world order.

For understandable reasons the changes began with the evening out and normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations. This process developed unevenly, with disruptions and digressions. Moscow's review of many foreign policy stereotypes and their replacement with the new political thinking accelerated the advent of a turning point in international affairs. The prospect of disarmament became real and protracted local conflicts (Afghanistan, Namibia, Nicaragua, Cambodia, Angola, and so forth) got moving. The United Nations began to acquire new life.

The talks in Helsinki are, as it were, based on all these positive trends and, concentrating them, show the new world order in action. Reporting to Congress on the results of his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, G. Bush stated: "Today we are living through a unique and extraordinary moment: The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times... a new world order, a new era freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace can emerge. An era in which all nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony... Today that new world is struggling to be born. A world quite different from the one we have known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak." Both chambers of congress applauded the president harmoniously and loudly.

It is against the background of the move toward a new world order that one can understand the keen, uncompromising reaction which Iraq's annexation of Kuwait generated. Iraq is stronger than Kuwait and that decides the matter. That is Baghdad's logic. And if you agree with it, if you do not reject it, that means recognizing the impossibility of removing the law of the fist and the conservation of the dominant role of military strength from foreign policy.

Helsinki confirmed the fundamental common approach of the USSR and the United States toward the Persian Gulf crisis. The status quo must be restored and the maximum effort, the maximum persistence, the maximum diplomatic skill must be displayed to do this by peaceful means. And, if this is not successful? Ultimately, the choice—the choice between a return to the status quo and the conservation of the particular fruit of aggression—is made by Husayn. And that means military operations are not ruled out.

Obdurate journalists repeatedly asked both presidents: Did you discuss military options in Helsinki? "No!" the presidents answered together, which surprised me. If military options are not ruled out—and that is indeed the case—then elementary logic demands their preliminary study and the creation of "domestic procurements," if you like. This needs to be done to avoid pernicious improvisations, rash decisions, and problems with time.

People may say this is not the business of presidents. Yet they are also the supreme commanders in chief.

For instance, I should like to hear from our commander in chief that there will be no unexpected presidential decrees and that the country's critical position in addition to the "Afghan syndrome" rule out Soviet troops'

participation in military operations. I should also like to hear that Moscow will treat with understanding the military actions to which the Americans may be compelled to resort.

Of course, it would be too bold to accuse the United States of altruism. It is pursuing its own line, defending its own interests. Everyone remembers Grenada, Panama, and other acts of bravado on Washington's part. But in this specific instance the United States is in line with the world community. The forces of nearly 30 states have been put into action in the Gulf region, but the main burden and the main responsibility rests with the United States. The risk is enormous. Bush is advancing through a minefield, so to speak, and the risk is enormous. I hope he will not take the wrong step...

The common position of the USSR and the United States, emphasized yet again in Helsinki, and the unity of all five permanent members of the UN Security Council have raised the United Nations' prestige and promoted the mobilization of world public opinion in support of the Security Council decisions and have correspondingly promoted the aggressor's isolation. It would seem this is to the common weal and everyone should be pleased. But no. The extraordinary diversity of the world community and the clash and interweaving of the most diverse interests, and the suspicion which the "weak" have for the "strong"—which has become a prejudice—are giving rise to various views of the new world order and its essence and the forces which support it. Sometimes the struggle for a new world order, for the exclusion of force from foreign policy, for the ending of the arms race, and for ecological discipline are interpreted by the "strong of this world," especially the "superpowers," to impose their will on the developing countries, to delay their progress, and to prevent them from resolving their own problems as they see fit.

Such feelings are as a rule manifested in the "third world." But not just there. For instance, here is what L'HUMANITE, the French Communists' newspaper, writes: The United Nations "will not win but lose if the five permanent members of the Security Council arrogate the role of a 'world government' that has a military structure and assigns other states the role of extras. If the conflicts between East and West are already out of fashion, will Washington, Paris, and London not organize the North's tutelage of the South, including the use of UN aid." One can understand what the newspaper does not like. But one cannot very well understand what it does like. Would it like the five permanent members of the Security Council to block each other and the council's decisions, as has happened many times previously? Would it like the conflicts which have gone out of fashion in the North to remain fashionable in the South? Or the UN military structure to remain semi-somnolent? As for the "world government," it is hardly worth using it as a means of intimidation, we are unfortunately still a very, very long way from it. But "extras" are indeed now going out of fashion, their numbers are constantly declining.

A restrained attitude toward the fundamental changes in the international arena, skepticism with regard to the true intentions of Washington or Moscow, fears of all kinds of "directoires" should not surprise us. The past does not let us go, it continues to live in the present. And quite a lot of time will obviously be needed for the new world order, whose symbol we may consider Helsinki 1990 to be, to be firmly asserted in reality and in people's consciousness.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, British Counterpart Meet in New York

LD2509003290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2130 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Kochetkov, Yevgeniy Menkes, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] UN, 25 Sep (TASS)—"Our meeting with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd today has taken place following the very fruitful dialogue recently held in Moscow," Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, declared in New York on Monday. "We therefore concentrated our attention on examining the prospects for further development of Soviet-British relations."

Replying to a question from the TASS correspondents on the meeting's agenda, the Soviet minister stressed that the sides had agreed, inter alia, to draw up a wide-ranging bilateral political document, which would set out the principles of development of Soviet-British ties in the current conditions. For his part, Douglas Hurd pointed out the good opportunities that in his opinion exist for further strengthening relations between the two countries. The sides agreed to maintain contacts at various levels on a regular basis.

TASS correspondents were informed by a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman that the sides also examined in detail questions of the preparation for the forthcoming pan-European summit meeting in Paris in the middle of November of this year, drafts of the documents being tabled for the meeting, the agenda and other questions. In the opinion of both sides, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, the Paris meeting can and must be held at the appointed time.

Another important subject was the whole gamut of questions connected with the conclusion of work on signing a treaty on reducing conventional weapons and the progress of the talks on this question in Vienna. At the same time the sides emphasized the need and the possibility of compromise solutions in Vienna in order that the treaty may be prepared for signing by the time of the Paris summit.

The ministers also discussed the current critical state of affairs in the Persian Gulf. They expressed confidence that the world community as a whole and the UN Security Council had taken the correct course toward countering the aggression which, incidentally, will be reaffirmed at the session of the Security Council on 25 September at the foreign minister level, at which the situation in the region is due to be examined. Eduard Shevardnadze and Douglas Hurd noted the importance of all countries observing the corresponding decisions and resolutions of the Security Council which provide, in particular, for the imposition of sanctions against Iraq.

At the conclusion of the conversation, Douglas Hurd, the British foreign secretary, extended an invitation to Eduard Shevardnadze to visit Great Britain in the first half of next year. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Comparisons of Speeches at U.S. Lawyers Meeting

Gorbachev's Greetings Message

PM2109083190

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 September 1990 in its Second Edition on page 1 carries a greetings message from President Gorbachev to the Soviet-U.S. lawyers conference. The PRAVDA item, entitled "To the Participants in the Soviet-U.S. 'Law and Economic Cooperation' Conference," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the United States & Canada section of the 19 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 9, revealing the following variations:

Page 9, column one, paragraph one, sentence one begins: [Text] I welcome the... (deleting the first two paragraphs; deleting quotation marks)

Paragraph three, sentence one of the item, reads: ...Moscow for a broad and representative meeting. (adding "broad and")

Paragraph five, sentence two reads: ...foundation for boosting confidence and carrying on successful... (substituting "confidence" for "conference")

Last paragraph reads: ...entire international community.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, USSR president (adding signatory)

Ryzhkov's 19 Sep Speech

PM2109155390

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 21 September 1990 in its Morning Edition on page 4 carries Ryzhkov's 19 September speech to the Soviet-U.S. lawyers' conference in Moscow. The IZVESTIYA item, entitled "N.I. Ryzhkov's Speech at the Conference on 'Law and Economic Cooperation,'" has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published int the United States & Canada section of the 20 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 4-5, revealing the following variations:

Page 4, column one, sentence one of the item begins: [Text] Ladies and Gentlemen!

Comrades!

First of all... (...deleting first paragraph, picking up paragraph two, sole sentence)

Paragraph three, sentence one reads: ...Moscow meeting is.

As a result... (deleting passage, picking up paragraph four)

Paragraph five, sentence one reads: ...for our cooperation.

At home, we... (deleting sentence)

Paragraph six, sentence three reads: ...is being tackled.

We know how... (deleting passages, picking up paragraph seven on column two)

Column two, paragraph three, last sentence reads: ...and so on.

Relations between the... (deleting paragraph)

Paragraph six, sentence two reads: ...and law-based levers.

We are striving... (deleting passages, picking up first paragraph on page five)

Page 5, column one, paragraph one, sentence one reads: ...to market relations.

Finally, I would... (deleting passages, picking up paragraph two)

Paragraph two, sentence one reads: ...contacts among people.

Allow me to... (deleting passages, picking up penultimate paragraph)

Last paragraph of the item, only sentence reads: ...work and success.

Thank you for your attention. (adding sentence)

China

Gurenko Meets With PRC Communist Party Group

LD2509063290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1606 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Kiev, 24 Sep (Ukrinform-TASS)—S.I. Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, held a meeting with a delegation of the Chinese Communist Party led by Ding Guangen, candidate member of the Politburo and member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat.

Stressing the unshakability of the course of the CPSU and the Ukrainian Communist Party toward perestroyka, S.I. Gurenko described the complex contradictory nature of the problems which have to be tackled in the process of implementing this course.

Ding Guangen gave a report on the activity of the Chinese Communist Party in the context of the present-day political and socioeconomic development of the Chinese People's Republic, and the stabilization of the situation in the country. Touching on the problem of multiparty cooperation, he said the Chinese Communist Party, jointly with other democratic parties, is discussing the more important problems and holding consultations. The Chinese Communist Party and the CPSU bear a huge responsibility, the guest said, to defend socialism. The Communists of China sincerely hope the Soviet Union will overcome its difficulties and will continue along the path of socialism.

Both sides commented on the importance of interparty contacts.

Political Angle of Beijing Asian Games Viewed

PM2509091990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "Asian Games in Beijing"]

[Excerpts] Beijing—Everything was in upheaval in September in Beijing. Colorful compositions that usually appear at roadsides and intersections on the eve of the national holiday, 1 October, surfaced much earlier on the city streets. Millions of chrysanthemums and roses added their bright hues to the green luster of the trees in autumnal Beijing. "Mooncakes" which are baked using freshly-ground flour at the time of the full moon specially for the "mid-fall" festival (3 October this year) have also been on sale everywhere for a long time now. It is as if a magician had moved the hands of the clock forward....

All this is due to a sporting event unparalleled in Chinese history—the Asian Games will be held here 22 September through 7 October. Billboards even on the quietest streets hidden from the highway's din remind us of them. "Every Chinese person is hosting the Asian Games," "Everything you do must above all serve the Asian Games"—these calls have become a national byword. [passage omitted]

The preparations for the Asian Games are the biggest well-organized propaganda campaign in recent decades. Hundreds of thousands of people have been involved in the latest campaign. They were told: The source of their voluntary labor must be sought in the Chinese people's glorious revolutionary traditions.

At the same time students were recommended to stay in their hostels and watch the Asian Games on television, and large rallies were banned. Here are just a few of the precautionary measures. Factories with high pollution levels will be temporarily shut down. It has been recommended that unregistered household pets be disposed of to avoid cases of rabies. A series of hygienic measures have been carried out to eradicate rats, mosquitoes, flies, and cockroaches. Food producers and sellers have been given special training in hygiene and set examinations. Particular attention was devoted to the areas where the sportsmen will live. Naturally the number of security personnel has drastically increased. Any rumors that may have a harmful effect on the atmosphere within

society, in particular regarding possible price hikes following the end of the games, have been resolutely suppressed. The municipal authorities have made frequent appeals for "vigilance against attempts by enemies within and outside the state to sow unrest to hamper the games. They must not be indulged."

Every state naturally wants to look its best in others' eyes during large-scale international festivities. I think that China has special reasons for this. Following the tragic events of last June, the memory of which is still with us, the government wants to find something to unite society and enhance the country's image abroad.

Sport is said to be independent of politics. I would remind you that during the seventies "ping-pong diplomacy" helped China restore its prestige in the world. Now the Asian Games are among the steps whose purpose is to reestablish themselves once more in the world community. The government has recently freed many political prisoners and allowed the astrophysicist Fang Lizhi, the most well-known dissident, and his wife to leave China. [passage omitted]

More than 100,000 foreign tourists are expected during the Asian Games; this should to some extent rectify the damage sustained by the tourist industry, which was developing rapidly during the years of reform, last year.

So, is sport independent of politics?

Comparison of Chinese Press Group's Visit

PM2109152590

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 September 1990 in its Second Edition on page 4 carries a TASS report on the meeting between Politburo member Dzasokhov and a Chinese press delegation. The PRAVDA item, entitled "Official Reports," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the China section of the 21 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 11, revealing the following variations:

Column one, sentence one of the item reads: [Text] A delegation from... (deleting dateline)

Column two, last paragraph of the item, first sentence reads: ...Secretary Aleksandr Dzasokhov 19 September. An exchange of opinions on topical issues of Soviet-Chinese cooperation took place. (rewording)

Northeast Asia

ROK To Establish Trade Ties With China

SK2509015090 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 22 Sep 90

[From the "Asian News" segment of the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The ROK and China will open trade representative offices—which will also perform limited consular functions—in each other's capital right after the Beijing Asian Games, said Pak Chol-on, a person close to ROK President No Tae-u and former minister of state for political affairs, who is now staying in Beijing to attend the opening ceremonies of the Asian Games. He said that Beijing and Seoul had agreed on this matter. He also said that the two countries had the understanding that even if they open non-governmental trade representative offices, the active visits by the people of the two countries must not be limited.

Ceremony, Speeches Mark Japanese Culture Week

OW2509043490 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] A ceremony opening Japanese culture week was held at [words indistinct] in Moscow on 23 September. Meanwhile, a symposium on cooperation and exchanges between the Soviet Union and Japan was held on the same day. Keigo Ouchi, member of the Japanese House of Representatives, and Primakov, member of the Presidential Council, delivered keynote speeches at the symposium.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Ryzhkov Holds Talks With Singapore Premier

Meet 24 Sep

LD2409184890 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and his Singaporean counterpart Lee Kuan Yew, who arrived in Moscow on an official visit on Sunday, began their talks in the Kremlin today.

They discussed ways to boost economic cooperation between the two countries and new forms and mechanisms of development that would meet modern requirements.

Both sides pointed to the importance of tapping the great potentials of the Soviet Far East and of its early inclusion in the international division of labour in the Asian-Pacific region.

The discussion of international problems showed that the Soviet Union and Singapore hold similar views and stands on a wide range of issues.

Exchange Dinner Speeches

LD2409201490 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov today described Singapore as an "example of the well-thought-out management of social

and economic processes" and said the Soviet Union was interested in Singapore's experience in social and economic transformations.

Ryzhkov was speaking at a dinner given for Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, on a visit here.

The Soviet prime minister said that the Soviet Union "knows about the positive reaction in Singapore to Soviet perestroyka and appreciates its readiness to aid our economic reform."

"Soviet-Singaporean relations are on the rise," Ryzhkov said. "Political contacts between the two countries are rapidly developing. The exchange of visits by their prime ministers, meetings between the foreign ministers and the invigoration of interparliamentary exchanges prove this.

"Trade turnover between the Soviet Union and Singapore and the number of joint ventures set up by them is growing, and new forms of business relations are being established."

Ryzhkov also pointed to the invigoration of cultural and humanitarian contacts between the two countries.

He said that his talks with Lee Kuan Yew today and the accords they reached allowed him to say that a "major step has been made in tapping the potential of interaction between the Soviet Union and Singapore, above all in the economic field."

"We stand for partnership, for mutually useful ties between the Soviet Union and Singapore on a long-term basis," Ryzhkov said.

In a reply speech, Lee Kuan Yew said relations between the two countries were consistently developing.

The joint Soviet-Singaporean Commission for Economic Scientific and technical cooperation held its first meeting in Moscow a few days age, at which a protocol was signed. The commission is also considering other agreements, he said.

Speaking about the Soviet Union's integration into the world economic system, the Singaporean prime minister said that Soviet participation in the international monetary fund and the international bank for reconstruction and development was a matter of time.

Both leaders pointed to the importance of developing regional cooperation in various fields, which they said would promote the early solution of economic problems and the settlement of conflicts.

View International Issues

LD2509202590 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and his Singaporean counterpart Lee Kuan Yew, on an official visit here, held talks in the Kremlin today.

The sides discussed the interrelationship between social and economic development within the framework of individual national states and general complex of international economic relations.

Le Kuan Yew said the international community could already now render support to the Soviet Union in its transition to a market economy.

The discussion of international problems showed that the Soviet Union and Singapore hold similar views and positions on a wide range of issues.

Ryzhkov set forth the Soviet Union's view of developments in the world.

The sides agreed that the international community should focus efforts on the consolidation of the departure from confrontational trends in governments' foreign policies and on the search for the balance of states' interests.

They pointed to the importance of the growth of the United Nations' role in efforts to solve major international problems and settle conflicts.

The prime ministers expressed their profound concern over the situation in the Persian Gulf. They said Kuwait-'occupation by Iraq runs counter to general world tendencies, seriously threatens peace and security in the region, and is fraught with dangerous consequences for the international situation.

Le Kuan Yew welcomed the Soviet Union's stand on the Gulf crisis and Soviet-U.S. joint steps to overcome it.

Both sides called for the early solution of the entire range of Middle East problems.

During the discussion of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, Ryzhkov pointed to the development of positive processes there, which he said helped improve inter-state relations and the general political atmosphere in the world's largest region, and to the beginning of a search for ways to strengthen regional security and cooperation

The two leaders called for the early political solution of the Afghan problem with the active participation of the United Nations, and expressed satisfaction with the progress achieved in the comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia.

Philippines, U.S. to Resume Bases Talks in Oct

HK2509050390 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Commentary by Aleksander Vladimirov]

[Text] The base talks between Manila and Washington did not yield results except that both panels agreed to meet again in October. The Philippines wants to have full control of the bases and will carefully study the U.S. proposal to gradually withraw from the facilities in 10 to 12 years.

World events contribute to the demands of groups seeking the closure of the military bases because they are major obstacles to the country's sovereignty. As the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States dies out, and the two superpowers no longer consider themselves rivals, Washington acknowledged to reduce its military facilities overseas and avoid military disputes with the USSR. However, there are still some events that point to the retention of the bases in the Philippines. One of them is the Persian Gulf situation. Due to this crisis Saudi Arabia sought military assistance in the Middle East. There is a big deployment of troops in the Gulf region. For U.S. leaders this is the only way to stop Iraqi President Saddam Husayn from fulfilling his ambitions.

All U.S. facilities overseas are involved in the deployment of troops to Saudi Arabia. In this connection, the bases in the Philippines are vital installations for movement of troops and ammunition to the Middle East from the Pacific region. According to supporters of the military bases, the facilities are important to quell regional conflicts. Another reason why the bases should remain is the financial aspect. This matter is of serious relevance to the present administration. Some sectors in the Philippines believe that military cooperation between the two countries can be delayed considering the future of the 80,000 workers in the bases. They will be very much affected because they earn millions of dollars each year.

What will be the effect of this on future talks? President Aquino believes that there will be changes in the bases status and this could be the turning point in the Philippines history. According to her, the military bases are important but not for all times.

Near East & South Asia

Iraqi Soldiers Reportedly Trained in Riga

90P50111 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 11 Sep 90 p 2

[SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH-LETA report under the rubric "Baltic Chronicle": "Who Is Being Trained at the Navy Training Center?"]

[Text] In the 9 September Latvian telecast of the program "Labvakar!" it was mentioned that supposedly Iraqi marines were being trained at the navy training center located in Riga. According to a statement by the deputy chief of the training unit, Captain First Rank S. Sharov, at the present time there is indeed a group of Iraqi specialists in the maintenance of ship technical equipment relating to defensive-type naval weapons being trained at the center along with military personnel from other countries. The training center has never in the past nor is it at present training marines.

ROK Promises Millions To Deter Iraqi Action

SK2509015990 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 24 Sep 90

[From the "Asian News" segment of the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The ROK Government has promised to allocate $220 million for a plan to form an international force in the Persian Gulf to deter Iraq's invasion. The Foreign Ministry announced this today in Seoul. The ROK will supply aircraft and ships to transport cargo for these forces, and will supply gas masks and other materiels for these forces. The ROK will also give economic assistance to those countries that are suffering as a result of international sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait.

Effect of UN Sanctions Against Iraq Viewed

PM2509092190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "United Nations: Problems Without Solutions"]

[Text] New York—In the next few days an Indian ship should enter an Iraqi port. In its holds are several thousand tonnes of food. It is intended for the Indians who, like many other foreign citizens, have become virtual hostages of the Husayn regime.

The ship will enter the port, but will it be unloaded? According to UN Security Council resolutions, this can be done only if control over the distribution of the freight is implemented either by UN representatives or by representatives of "related" organizations—the International Red Cross, for instance.

Baghdad's position? No UN control. That is the last word from Husayn's regime, stated on Friday, at the very time when the UN Committee on Sanctions was trying to resolve the problem of the Indian ship en route for Iraq's shores and dozens of other similar problems which arose immediately after the Security Council's adoption of resolutions on an economic blockade.

But what about another ship carrying children's food—freight bought before the aggression against Kuwait began and now stuck in a Black Sea port en route to Iraq? Children's food is obviously humane aid, what problems could there be here? Simple, I was told by a respectable official from the sanctions committee, where is the guarantee that the children's food will not go to feed the Iraqi Army, which is now coming up against an acute food shortage?

Neither in my talk with this official nor in talks with other officials did I hear a precise reply to the question of what possibilities the United Nations has in such cases and how it can ensure the fulfillment of its own resolutions.

And if it cannot?

The UN Charter provides for a wide selection of actions which could be taken against a violating country. Something is already being done: A naval blockade has been introduced during whose action, according to reports I have received, over 2,000 ships suspected of violating the embargo have been intercepted. The next step is to introduce an air embargo. That will happen in all likelihood on Tuesday, when the UN Security Council intends to meet for a beefed up session—at the foreign minister level. The draft resolution in my possession says that in addition to a sea and air embargo and in addition to the freezing of Iraqi assets in foreign banks, additional measures may be taken.

What measures? A high-ranking Soviet diplomat stated that it is a case in particular of blocking Iraq's electronic, radio, and mail communications.

Meanwhile it is becoming increasingly clear that the sanctions against Iraq are not only affecting Baghdad. THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported that Jordan has asked the UN Security Council to help in obtaining approximately $2 billion in additional foreign aid which could partly compensate for the loss caused to Jordan as a result of the sanctions against Iraq. According to World Bank calculations Jordan could lose nearly one-fourth of its GNP as a result of the sanctions, in particular from the reduction to virtually nothing of exports from Jordan to Iraq. In addition to Jordan a further 12 other developing countries at least, including India, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Yemen, and Pakistan, have made similar requests. The World Bank believes that Egypt is losing two percent of its GNP and for the majority of other developing countries the embargo against Iraq will mean that their economic growth rates will slow down by two percent and more.

How much is the Soviet Union losing from these sanctions? One would like to know the figures. It is not out of the question that we too will have to ask the Security Council for assistance.

Impact of Gulf Crisis Seen To Be Far-Reaching

90UF0538A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov observer's column: "Like Ripples on Water"]

[Text] It is clear to the naked eye that the conflict that has arisen in the Persian Gulf caused by Iraq's treacherous seizure of Kuwait and its subsequent annexation is radiating out like ripples on water from a stone that has been thrown, giving rise to unexpected consequences at times. The price of petroleum products has increased in many countries. And in Japan, for example, certain circles have once again begun to talk about the need for a revision of the articles of the country's constitution which prohibit Tokyo from sending troops beyond the Japanese islands. Manila, in turn, concerned for the fate of Filipino workers in captured Kuwait, is demanding that Washington not use the Pentagon's military facilities located in the archipelago in its operations against Iraq. And so forth....

In a word, the ripples are spreading outward. The times are such. The "Persian crisis" has eclipsed, as it were, other regional conflicts. And in certain cases it has contributed—albeit indirectly—to certain such conflicts having become even more bitter and even less susceptible to settlement. Recent events in Afghanistan are confirmation of this.

But first, this. Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, recently paid an official friendly visit to India. A joint statement on its results contains an appeal for the immediate implementation of the Geneva Afghanistan accords in full and an end to interference in this country's internal affairs. The document also particularly points out that Pakistan should end its support for splittist and terrorist activity in Afghanistan.

What, however, has the conflict in the Persian Gulf to do with this, the reader has a right to ask. The fact that this crisis has noticeably raised the issue of Pakistan's actions, which had been tottering, in Washington's eyes. It had to have been seen that Washington had begun a critical reinterpretation of its Afghan policy. No, it had not decided to abandon military assistance to the mujahidin but had, nonetheless, begun to ponder: Is a purely power solution of the Afghan problem possible!

And inasmuch as it is Pakistan that is the springboard from which the armed opposition operates, there had come to be also a critical interpretation of Islamabad's role in the protracted Afghan conflict. The American capital had begun to question the need for such immense military assistance not only to the mujahidin but to Islamabad itself. The so-called "presidential coup," as a result of which Prime Minister B. Bhutto found herself removed from power in Pakistan, played a part here also.

All this was leading to the start of a seeming wavering of the positions of Islamabad, which, if events were to continue to develop in this channel, would manifestly not have been in a position either to have armed itself or, further, to have supported the Afghan opposition. Then, with impeccable timing, came Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. The more so in that Baghdad had begun to threaten Saudi Arabia with the use of force also. The United Nations condemned Iraq's actions, and at Riyadh's request the United States embarked on a transfer to the Arabian peninsula of its troops and military equipment and called on its allies to do likewise. One of

the first to act with alacrity was Islamabad, which began the urgent dispatch of a 5,000-man army contingent to Saudi Arabia.

And it is not only a question of a dangerous concentration of forces and arms taking place in the Persian Gulf zone. Such dispatch on Islamabad's part did not go unnoticed in Washington. Anti-Pakistan material immediately disappeared from the mass media. On the contrary, they began to speak cordially about Pakistan's important role in "maintaining peace and stability in South and Southwest Asia." It is perfectly understandable that such a turn of events has once again untied Islamabad's hands in respect of Afghanistan. And the Afghans were made immediately aware of this: The rebels have noticeably stepped up their military operations around the country, whose casualties are the peaceful population.

Thus what has happened in the Persian Gulf has emphasized yet again that all is interrelated in our world and that any conflict radiates out like ripples on water. And it is necessary to strive by all available means to avoid such complications.

Comparison of Jordanian Stand on Gulf

PM2009141390

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 19 September 1990 in its Second Edition on page 5 carries Yu. Danilychev's Amman dispatch on the Jordanian view of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. The Second Edition item entitled "Aggressor or New Saladin?" has been compared with the translation of the First Edition published in the Near East & South Asia section of the 20 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 12-13, revealing the following variation:

Page 13, third full paragraph of the item reads: ...as a whole.

When the Issue Was Being Made Up

At a news conference held in Geneva, Daniel Lestir [name as transliterated], a spokesman for the humanitarian organization "Medecins Sans Frontieres" who has visited the refugee camps in Jordan, cited the evidence of people who have fled from Kuwait, according to which persons who are out of favor with the Iraqi military authorities have recently begun disappearing increasingly frequently in the occupied Arab country. Violence is being used in Kuwait not only against the local populace but also against foreigners who have been permitted to leave the country. They also become victims of a cruel deception: They are given promises that they will be taken to Jordan for big money, while in fact they are taken a few hundred kilometers and abandoned in the desert. (deleting last paragraph, substituting editorial passage)

Afghan Parliamentarian Holds Talks in RSFSR

LD2509075190 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0504 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Kabul, Sept 24, BAKHTAR—Dr. Mahmud Habibi speaker of the Senate of the parliament of the Republic of Afghanistan [RA] who at the head of an Afghan parliamentary delegation had gone to the Soviet Union had a meeting recently with H.A. Meronovich first deputy of the Supreme Council of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic [RSFSR] at the headquarters of that council.

During the meeting Habibi delivered message of Najibullah president of the Republic of Afghanistan addressed to the president of the RSFSR to the first deputy of the Supreme Council of that Republic.

The Afghan parliamentary delegation talked on the developments of political military situation of the country, peaceful proposals of the RA state and RA new mechanism on political solution of the Afghan issue and assured H.A. Meronivich on the tireless efforts of the RA state for the release of the Soviet prisoners of war "POW's" with the opposition.

Then the first deputy of RSFSR's Supreme Council stated that the RSFSR was, is, and will be a traditional friend of Afghanistan and starting and continuation of such talks bring closer the sides to recognize each other stands. [as received]

He wished that peace should be restored as soon as possible in the war-torn Afghan land. He expressed the hope on the continuation of, economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation of his Republic with the RA.

He fully supported constructive proposals set forth by President Najibullah aimed at restoration of peace and cessation of war in Afghanistan.

Afghan Leader Receives Group of Soviet Veterans

LD2409170490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] A Soviet delegation of the union of Afghan veterans has been received in Kabul by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan. He informed those present in detail about the present situation in the country, achievements of the national reconciliation policy, development of democratic processes in Afghan society. Najibullah highly judged the USSR's efforts in settling the Afghan problem. He stated that the Republic's leadership is determined to continue the search for Soviet hostages who are presently in the hands of the Afghan opposition and to seek their release.

Yakovlev, Falin View Resuming Ties With Israel

TA2509105290 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 25 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

["Exclusive" report by France-based correspondent Gid'on Kouts]

[Excerpts] Paris—In interviews with DAVAR, two senior Soviet statesmen currently visiting Paris pointed out that the Soviet Union does not condition the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel on the convening of a diplomatic conference, but rather on "steps" toward a comprehensive solution in the region. Consular ties may be resumed at the conclusion of the Gulf crisis.

Their remarks also indicate that Presidents Bush and Gorbachev disagreed at the Helsinki summit on the process conducive to a solution to the Palestinian problem, although they agreed on the need for a comprehensive solution through cooperation between the superpowers. According to the Soviets, it was Bush who said that the Palestinian problem is the central problem in the region.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, a Presidential Council member and the number two man in the Soviet leadership, told DAVAR last night that after the Gulf crisis is resolved, the Soviet Union will examine the possibility of establishing full consular ties with Israel as a stage toward diplomatic relations. He said he had discussed this with Ministers Moda'i and Ne'eman. "The establishment of diplomatic relations depends on moves in the direction of a comprehensive solution in the region," he said. "I do not think there is now a serious reason for not maintaining consular or diplomatic ties—although everything hangs on a comprehensive solution in the region."

As for the U.S.-USSR agreement in Helsinki regarding joint action in the Middle East, Yakovlev said: "There is agreement in principle that we have to act together and not push each other. All the rest is detail."

Valentin Falin, a senior foreign affairs adviser to Gorbachev, who had attended the Helsinki summit with Gorbachev and who heads the International Policy Commission of the CPSU Central Committee, in an interview with DAVAR replied to a question on whether the Americans and the Soviets had agreed in Helsinki on the nature of the joint peace initiative for the Israeli-Palestinian issue. "This question was not discussed as such," said Falin. "It was discussed as a concept. In this sense, it was agreed that the peace process must be given momentum through negotiations for a comprehensive solution in the Middle East." [passage omitted]

The international conference for peace in the Middle East has so far remained on the level of ideas. There is no need to see it as a fetish, said Falin. "Obviously, any attempt to solve a crucial problem while leaving out one of the parties that has an active role in regional issues does not stand a chance. People should take care not to come out against an idea without empirically testing its efficacy, because the very people who object to the idea may find it to be efficacious.

"The Soviet Union was never hostile to the State of Israel or its people—not even in the toughest moments in our relations. Our attempt to find a undoubtably just solution does not stem from a design to harm you, but from a desire to attain peace in your region, which is not far from our borders, and the desire to see the arms race stop," said Falin.

Asked by DAVAR whether the Soviet Union will allow direct talks under its auspices between Israel and its neighbors, Falin replied: "Auspices is not the right word, but this does not mean that we will stay out of such a process, if the pattern of the talks is found suitable by your interlocutors."

When asked why the Soviet Union has established diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia but not with Israel, he said that there had never been ties with Saudi Arabia, so there were none to be severed. As for relations with Israel, "it will be necessary to make the first step toward a solution through negotiations—and our response will come shortly thereafter."

Syrian Armed Forces Delegation Ends Visit

PM2509122790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Friendly Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of Syrian Arab Republic [SAR] Armed Forces leading political personnel headed by Brigadier General M. al-Masri, deputy chief of the SAR Armed Forces Political Directorate, was in the Soviet Union 11-18 September at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation was received by Colonel General N.I. Shlyaga, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Discussions on problems of party political work in the Army and Navy were held at directorates of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The discussions took place in a businesslike, friendly atmosphere.

The Syrian political personnel visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and familiarized themselves with the historico-revolutionary places of Moscow and Novosibirsk.

The guests from Syria visited the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy and the Siberian Military District, where they familiarized themselves with the combat and political training of soldiers from one of the district's units and a higher military educational institution.

The delegation has left for home.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ambassador to Ethiopia Presents Credentials

LD2409153690 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Addis Ababa September 24 TASS—Soviet Ambassador to Ethiopia Lev Mironov today presented his credentials in Addis Ababa to Mengistu Haile Mariam, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

After the ceremony the Ethiopian leader had a conversation with the Soviet ambassador. It passed in a friendly, comradely atmosphere.

Soviet-Ethiopian relations, the situation in the world, the Gulf crisis, the situation in Africa, including the Horn of Africa, were discussed.

Mengistu Haile Mariam expressed the confidence that perestroyka in the Soviet Union will succeed and wished President Mikhail Gorbachev success in his activity aimed at the benefit of the Soviet people. He also expressed the hope for the further development of friendly relations between Ethiopia and the Soviet Union which invariably widened and strengthened in the recent years.

East Europe

Bulgarian Premier Arrives, Meets Ryzhkov

AU2509112290 Sofia BTA in English 1037 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, September 25 (BTA)—Today Mr. Andrey Lukanov, prime minister of Bulgaria, met in the Kremlin with Mr. Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Mr. Lukanov arrived in Moscow last night together with three aides, three deputy ministers and three advisers to President Zhelev.

Instead of the scheduled five or 10 minutes, Mr. Lukanov and Mr. Ryzhkov conferred for 35 minutes.

"Our attitude to Bulgaria remains unchanged," Mr. Ryzhkov told the Bulgarian Radio correspondent. "To us it is a friendly country and despite all difficulties which we face ourselves, we should do everything to keep promoting our relations: The political contacts, in the humanitarian sphere and, of course, in the economy."

Mr. Lukanov will have a meeting with Mr. Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Bulgarian Premier Congratulated on Election

PM2509095590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Message from Soviet Premier N. Ryzhkov to Bulgarian Premier A. Lukanov]

[Text] To Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers:

Please accept my sincere congratulations on your election as chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

I am convinced that during the radical transformations being implemented within our countries, renewed Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation will develop on an equal and mutually beneficial foundation for the good of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria in the interests of deepening interaction on the international arena and strengthening security and trust on the European continent and in the world as a whole.

I wish you success in your responsible activity.

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov

News Conference Held on Trade With CSFR

PM2509100190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by S. Mushkaterov: "Only Partial Success. USSR-CSFR Trade Talks in Moscow"]

[Text] Although the talks were intensive, we were only able to make partial progress toward our goals. That was how V. Vales, deputy premier of the Czechoslovakiak Government, described the latest talks on mutual trade at a news conference at the CSFR [Czech and Slovak Federal Republic] Embassy in Moscow. The Moscow dialogue was a logical continuation of the treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia at the beginning of the month whereby as of next year bilateral trade transactions will be conducted at current world market prices and payments will be made in freely convertible currency.

In V. Vales' opinion, only the talks on preparing a payment and banking agreement, which may be signed early next month, were relatively successful. Many questions associated with lists of Soviet exports to the CSFR, above all raw materials, and Czechoslovak return deliveries are still open. There is also tremendous work still to be done on the question of the procedure for recalculating credit and the positive balance that Czechoslovakia has as a result of the bilateral trading relations that took shape this year.

V. Vales spoke in detail about how trade dialogue is also being conducted with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and also with one of its oblasts. As is well known, a memorandum was signed in September on the fundamental principles of economic and trade ties between Czechoslovakia and Russia for

the post-1990 period. V. Vales said that the document was ratified by the RSFSR and CSFR Governments, which made it possible to set up a special working group. During the first 10 days of October, it will prepare an agreement whereby Russia will supply raw materials and Czechoslovakia will take part in restructuring the food and other sectors of industry on RSFSR territory.

Talks on trade and economic ties between Czechoslovakia and Tyumen Oblast are continuing successfully. According to the deputy premier of the CSFR Government, these talks have in particular given rise to the possibility of obtaining oil via direct Czechoslovak participation in its extraction. Incidentally, V. Vales said that this project may be a good example for joint enterprise between our countries. He stressed that the CSFR will give its full support to this form of cooperation.

Many questions put by journalists present at the news conference concerned the development of direct relations between the CSFR and the union republics, along with individual oblasts. In response to these questions, V. Vales stressed that the trade treaty signed in September makes provision for the conclusion of agreements between the CSFR and the USSR at three levels—union, republic, and oblast—with a single payment agreement for all of them. And the union government is briefed on the talks at other levels. "Distribution of powers" is currently under way between the union and the republics, V. Vales said, and we are not interested in entering into conflict over this. The talks are taking place within the spirit of existing accords and with an eye to the rights of each of our partners. At the same time, he said, we know that we will not secure an agreement at union level that will fully meet our requirements and ensure the sale of the output produced by our enterprises. For that reason we will hold talks at all three levels. In this connection V. Vales told journalists that Czechoslovakia would like to agree an accord on direct ties with the Ukraine similar to the agreement secured with Russia. Preparations are under way for talks with other republics and oblasts.

Economic Minister Meets Hungarian Counterpart

LD2409153590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, 24 Sep (TASS)—Talks began here today on trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Republic. The Soviet delegation is headed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and the Hungarian one by B. Kadar, minister of international economic relations of the Hungarian Republic.

Claim of 'Lost' MiG-19 Bomb in Poland Rejected

PM2509120390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed "Rejoinder": "Was There a Bomb?"]

[Text] Polish television has stated that on 20 September in the north of the republic a Soviet MiG-19 aircraft lost a bomb, "which, fortunately, did not explode." Our correspondent, Lieutenant Colonel A. Bugay, contacted Lieutenant General of Aviation V. Lyashenko, Northern Group of Forces Air Force chief of staff, and asked him to comment on this announcement.

As it happens, aircraft of this type are not stationed on Polish territory. Moreover, there were no incidents involving the Air Force on 20 September. A journalistic canard no less! It is annoying that this kind of news should be broadcast on television at a time when extremist groupings are artificially whipping up the atmosphere surrounding the problem of the duration of Soviet units' and formations' stay in Poland.

West Europe

Yanayev Leads Visit to Greece To Attend Congress

PM2309181190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by G.I. Yanayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, flew to Athens 19 September to attend the Second Panhellenic Socialist Movement [PASOK] Congress at the invitation of the PASOK leadership.

Norwegian Ecology Ship Reported in Soviet Waters

Ship Seized 21 Sep

PM2509114990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by F. Ivanov: "Norwegian Ship Apprehended"]

[Text] REUTER has reported that on 21 September not far from Novaya Zemlya island a Soviet border patrol ship apprehended the Norwegian ship Genius belonging to the "Bellona" ecological organizatipn.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent was told at the USSR KGB border guard headquarters that at 1600 on 21 September the border patrol ship Imeni XXVI Sezda KPSS discovered the Norwegian ship Genius on the outskirts of Soviet territorial waters. The ship was not far from the Western coast of Novaya Zemlya island facing the Matochkin Shar strait. The commander of the Soviet ship decided to board the Genius and search the ship. During the search a laboratory was discovered containing a large number of water and soil samples taken in the USSR economic zone in the Barents Sea. The captain of the Norwegian ship admitted that he had violated USSR legislation for the economic zone, but stated that he would continue this work. The commander of the Soviet ship decided to escort the Norwegian ship to

Murmansk, where they should arrive 23 September. In all likelihood the Norwegian consul will fly to Murmansk for the investigation.

Detention Lifted

LD2409215290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2007 GMT 24 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Today the detention imposed by the Soviet authorities on the vessel Junius [name as heard], which belongs to one of the Norwegian ecological organizations, was lifted. The vessel was detained after its crew took a sample of the water near Novaya Zemlya, where it is believed that nuclear weapon testing may resume before the end of September.

Swedish Defense Minister Arrives 24 Sep

Greeted by Yazov

LD2409103990 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Swedish Defence Minister Roine Carlsson arrived here today on an official visit.

At Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport, he was met by Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, head of the Soviet General Staff Mikhail Moiseyev and other military commanders. The ceremony was attended by Swedish Ambassador to the Soviet Union Oerjan Berner.

During his six-day visit, Carlsson will hold talks with senior Soviet military officials.

Carlsson is expected to visit several military facilities, the Cosmonaut training centre and the General Staff Academy.

The Swedish minister is also planning to visit Murmansk and Leningrad.

Ministers Discuss Military Ties

LD2409170690 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov today met with his Swedish counterpart Roine Carlsson, who has arrived here on an official visit.

They discussed the development of cooperation between the two countries, including in the military field, in the context of efforts to build a common European home and strengthen security and peace, as well as other issues of mutual interest.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding.

Carlsson laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin wall.

Soviets Stop Metal Imports From West Europe

AU2209194890 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 22-23 Sep 90 p 15

[Report by Heinrich Mathis: "USSR Stops Import of Metal Sheets; Slump in Prices Halves Voest Profits"]

[Excerpt] Since the middle of this year, the USSR has stopped placing orders with Western steel companies for lack of foreign currency. The turnover of the Voest steel company with the USSR, which amounted to four billion schillings last year, decreased to several hundred million schillings this year. The Voest-Alpine Steel Ges.m.b.H. company is losing 10 percent of its market share in thin sheets, yet it suffers even more from the slump in prices in Europe, because all producers try to compensate on other markets for the loss in exports to the East. Profits will be halved this year. Moscow still owes Voest about 200 million schillings from last year. [passage omitted]

Latin America & Caribbean

Official Views Prospects for Ties With Chile

PM2109144790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by K. Khachaturov, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Latin American Countries: "We and the Chileans"]

[Excerpts] Since 11 September 1973, the international public has invariably commemorated that date as a black day in Chile's history. It was on that date that the military overthrew the constitutional government in the most democratic state in South America. [passage omitted]

In fact no event since the war has aroused such universal sympathy for someone else's grief as the aftermath of the military putsch in Chile. A Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Chilean Democrats was set up in the USSR and, on our public's initiative, it gave them voluntary assistance and moral support. We actively participated in the establishment in Helsinki of an International Commission To Investigate the Crimes of the Chilean Junta, which has always been chaired by Jakob Soderman, former justice minister, general prosecutor, and now legal adviser to the Finnish Parliament. It has done a vast amount of work and its final act will be the transfer of all the materials of the special investigation to the special commission to identify human rights violations set up by the Chilean president.

Favorable prospects now exist for the development of political, economic (in view of Chile's substantial industrial trade potential), scientific, cultural, and other links. It is the second time Soviet-Chilean relations have been

restored under a president from the Christian Democratic Party [PDC]: Established in 1944, they were broken off three years later on Santiago's initiative and restored in 1964 under E. Frei—the first Christian Democratic Party president in Latin American history.

In Santiago I could see that the real estate belonging to the embassy and other Soviet institutions has been carefully preserved all these years under India's trusteeship. But the Chilean Embassy in Moscow, despite the item in IZVESTIYA several months ago, still lacks its own premises. This cannot be considered a normal situation.

A good start has been made in the development of Soviet-Chilean links through public channels. An authoritative PDC delegation, comprising its chief national adviser, a senator, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and the leader of a women's organization, has visited Moscow for the first time, at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Latin American Countries. In turn, a delegation from the Committee, headed by Yu.Kh. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation, visited Chile at the invitation of the PDC and was handed the official proposal on the establishment of parliamentary links between our countries. So people's diplomacy is trying to build bridges between states that time has driven apart and brought together.

I began my notes with a painful date—"black" 11 September. But in exactly a week's time the Chilean people will be celebrating a joyous festival—the 180th anniversary of the proclamation of national independence. We wish the Chileans success in forming a rule-of-law state. Because that is a task in our home as well.

Plight of Specialists, Workers in Cuba Eyed

PM2409150190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 p 3

["Letter to the Editorial Office" from A. Snam: "Forced Labor in the Tropics—Soviet Specialists Travel There Often With No Idea of What Awaits Them"]

[Text] Havana—"Orbits of Cooperation," "Facets of Integration"—articles on the USSR's economic collaboration with friendly countries, Cuba among them, in past years used to appear under resounding rubrics like these. As I have been a sort of eyewitness of this "cooperation," I would like to share my impressions of it.

It is not customary, to put it mildly, among the thousands of Soviet specialists in Cuba to write to the newspapers about one's work and life, or about shortcomings in the work of Soviet establishments abroad. Why? You will be accused of "ingratitude," you will be labeled a troublemaker, and you will be barred from another visit, which many people dream about—after all, let us be blunt, a long-term assignment abroad, even in Cuba, is like winning a lottery for any Soviet person. But if you keep quiet about shortcomings, they don't diminish. And Soviet specialists in this tropical country have a slew of problems, and at the same time, whatever ministry is in question, all the problems are the same.

The problems start back in the union, when candidates are selected for sending abroad. First, it goes without saying that no enterprise is interested in losing valuable and competent employees. Thus the result is that very often foreign "cooperation projects" are stuffed with dead wood, people who have been hit by staff cuts and also leading figures who are "spent forces". Both the Cubans and our own people view these workers, if you can call them that, with badly concealed disdain. Naturally squabbles, complaints, and anonymous letters begin. And they stoop to anything to stay on the island a bit longer and enjoy this sinecure, up to and including bribing the local Cuban bosses. Luckily, in the wholesale shortages that prevail here anything can be used as a gift, from Soviet tinned stew to Cuban rum.

Many problems also arise for competent specialists. First, the problem of communication—after all, virtually none of the Soviet specialists coming to Cuba knows a word of Spanish. This not only creates difficulties in everyday life, to put it mildly, but also blocks our access to virtually all information.

Second, until they arrive on the island, many have an extremely hazy idea of what they will be doing there. Come on, if you are offered a trip "abroad," who is going to start quibbling! No one explains anything to them specially, telling them: "You'll find out on the spot." But "on the spot" it becomes clear that our abilities do not always match the demands of the client.

Furthermore. What are the installations erected in Cuba with USSR assistance like? They—whether under construction or already commissioned—were mainly created according to Soviet plans encapsulating all the planning defects of the times of stagnation. Hence the ailments with which we are all too familiar: unfinished projects, neverending construction, gigantomania, poisoning of the environment.... These projects have been or are being supplied with equipment made in the Soviet Union in a so-called "tropical version." I think that the "version" for Cuba is even worse than that for ourselves. Our ministries and enterprises have absolutely no interest either in delivering high-quality technology or in repairing it; there is practically no one to complain to anyway—you will get lost in bureaucratic jungles. Before equipment is installed and commissioned it spends a long time lying around at the ports or in the open. And of course, in this climate the metal rusts and falls to pieces practically before your very eyes. Naturally, after all this the equipment works only for a very short time. In addition, there are virtually no spare parts for repairs and replacements. I know that there are not enough in our country either, but then why sink in this quagmire by bringing more and more equipment here every year!

The entire system of aid and cooperation can be described with every justification as administrative-bureaucratic. No one is interested in its end results; everyone is interested only in ensuring that everything goes as before. It is clear that this "aid" in no way affects the prosperity of the Cuban people and the "cooperation" brings no special benefits for our country except losses.

I would like also to share my thoughts on the activity of the USSR trade mission and the USSR Embassy in Cuba. First, a manifest injustice exists between employees of the apparatus and specialists in the level of pay, living conditions, possibilities of receiving goods and services, and in medical provision. Life in a Soviet colony abroad, including in Cuba, is a model of our society as a whole. In exactly the same way the apparatchiks and petty bureaucrats are provided with every kind of special privilege unavailable to the "common folk." I will say only that this is a very sore point.

Apparatchiks can fix their wives up with jobs, specialists can do so only in extreme circumstances. In a situation where there is an almost total lack of any goods in the local stores, the apparatchiks have priority access to trade mission stores. All the mission's workers have official cars which are at their entire disposal round the clock. Why are similar VIP conditions not created for specialists, for whom they are absolutely essential? The pay of a Soviet specialist in Cuba is a separate story. It does not depend on his personal contribution, his working conditions, or his usefulness. Here the principle "From each according to his abilities, to each exactly the same" is implemented. Yes, pay here—in real terms, that is, according to the criteria of the "black market"—is higher than the average pay in the union. But! All specialists transfer much of their pay to Moscow, to a USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity account (or else what would be the sense in their doing time here and wrecking their health?) and what remains can in no way suffice for a normal life. On average Soviet specialists in Cuba receive 200 Cuban—so-called "wooden"—pesos. Twenty pesos go to party and trade union dues, the rest on subsistence. Many women buy bones, make broth from them, clean off the remains of meat and make macaroni naval style. The same day after day. Ice cream for the children or a couple of bottles of beer represent a severe blow to the family budget. For this reason everyone looks for ways to somehow increase their "earnings." And there is only one way, in general, to do this—speculation.

Speculation on the part of Soviet citizens (and, incidentally, not only Soviet citizens; Czechs, Bulgarians, and Poles are as hard at it as our people) has now reached mind-boggling proportions. They sell everything: both what they have brought from the USSR, and items bought here on "special issue" [na otovarke]—shampoo, soap, perfume, footwear, clothes, coffee, cigarettes, tinned stew, tomatoes, mayonnaise, candies, rum, etc. Speculation is a blot on our relations with the Cubans and corrupts both them and us. It is not for nothing that the Cubans say of Soviet citizens: "They are people who buy as cheap as possible and sell as dear as possible." It is shameful....

And it is quite useless for the party pontiffs over here—I am talking about the Soviet ones—to appeal to our party and human honor and probity. It is impossible to be honest if you are poverty-stricken. People are confronted with a situation where they have to speculate in order to live more or less like human beings. Slave labor, you might think, is now forever a thing of the past, but this news has apparently yet to reach Moscow offices. No one has tried to tackle this problem in real earnest. There was, it is true, a campaign to combat "unearned income," but, apart from humiliating human dignity, it did nothing for anybody. It is not appeals and campaigns that are needed, but economic measures to create civilized living conditions for Soviet specialists.

I would like to mention another aspect of our cooperation. One cause of the fact that economic aid to Cuba is not producing the desired results is the "specific conditions" existing in Cuba. Because this country has been under our tutelage for decades, a freeloading mentality has developed among people here. Aid from the USSR is seen by many Cubans as their due, and some people even believe Cuba owes its economic problems to the fact, as they say, that the USSR "helps too little." This causes indifference, irresponsibility, and a could-not-care-less attitude to equipment and to work. Whether a driver has smashed up his vehicle or a factory has failed to meet its plan, the worker will get his "ration card" crust of bread just the same. If you have wrecked a machine tool or spoilt a tractor, no problem; the Soviet Union will send another. And no one worries that Cuba's debt to the Soviet Union has long since passed 15 billion rubles. It might as well be over one trillion! After all, it is plain to everyone that debts like this are not repaid.

In principle, this would be a strictly internal Cuban affair if our economic relations were structured on a genuine market basis: Pay in hard currency for goods and services, and then you can do what you like with them, even bury them in the ground. However, up to now our economic relations have been determined not by profit, but by ideology. Why, for instance, should our trade mission have to worry about the safekeeping of material resources and equipment? Logically, it is the buyers and clients, in other words, Cuba, whose heads should ache over this. Well, let us see what happens next year when, in accordance with the president's decree, the USSR goes over to world prices and freely convertible currency in its trade with socialist countries. Although, to be honest, I am overwhelmed by serious doubts as to whether it will be possible to free ourselves so simply overnight from the marshy swamp of the "ideological economy" that has formed over the decades.

Soviet aid, incidentally, also has, apart from its economic function, a propaganda function and helps the Cuban leadership to channel public discontent, if the need arises, in the direction it requires. What do I mean?

For example, there is an insignificant delay in the delivery of Soviet grain and at once responsibility for mismanagement in the country is heaped on the USSR. If oil delivered—punctually, by the way—by the Soviet Union has leaked somewhere, again Moscow is to blame. We, the Soviet people living here, realize very well that this propaganda is effective and have a very good feel for how the attitude toward us is beginning to change.

Finally, I would like to mention one more thing. Of course, the Cuban leaders are primarily responsible for the state of the economy in their country. But the USSR is by no means the least to blame. Ideology, the administrative-edict bureaucratic system, and the other pathological symptoms of "real socialism" were directly exported. But in the specific conditions of Cuba, they have thrived and assumed even more monstrous forms.

Foreign Ministry Hosts Soviet-Jamaican Talks

PM2409130990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Jamaican political consultations were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 17-19 September on the main questions on the agenda of the 45th UN General Assembly session and a number of regional and international problems. There was also an exchange of opinions on questions of bilateral relations.

The Jamaican representatives were received by and had a conversation with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.G. Komplektov.

Supreme Soviet

USSR Supreme Soviet Session Resumes 24 Sep

LD2409070990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0640 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev and Ivan Ivanov from the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 24 Sep (TASS)—The members of the USSR Supreme Soviet assembled today for another plenary sitting of the two chambers of the Soviet parliament—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The parliamentarians are faced with adopting a number of major decisions concerning, above all, the programs for stabilizing the country's national economy and the transition to a regulated market economy. [passage omitted]

Taking part in today's plenary sitting are USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, Nikolay Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet Government, and members of the Presidential Council.

Deputies Approve Draft Decisions on Economy

LD2409090190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 24 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports that draft decisions on urgent measures to stabilize the national economy, on the transfer to a regulated market economy, and on additional measures to normalize economic and sociopolitical life in the country are being examined today at a joint sitting of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

After a report from the chairman of the Parliamentary Economic Reform Committee, the deputies took a vote on the first document. The draft was passed as a whole by the participants in the session.

Taking part in its work is USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Deputies Discuss Varied Programs

LD2409100290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 24 September carries a three-minute report by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy on today's USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow. "This morning's sitting of the Supreme Soviet was rather strange," Ruvinskiy says, opening his report. He describes today's agenda and divergencies between various reform programs under discussion, and mentions that Gorbachev spoke at the session.

He goes on to note that the agenda includes discussion of the draft decision on urgent measures for the stabilization of the national economy and the program for the switch to a market economy, signed by Vologzhin, Sharipov, and Gritsenko. "As it has turned out, it does not quite coincide with the views of the actual commissions and committees," Ruvinskiy says. "But people's deputies disagreed with the proposed decision."

Describing proceedings, he continues: "Now, during the break—which was announced specially—under the leadership of the president, the commission has had to do some work. It is to present a new variant of the Supreme Soviet decision. To be placed at its basis are the ideas expressed at the Supreme Soviet session today by academician Shatalin. And now Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is speaking from the rostrum. He is delivering a report on the new draft. He noted that the new draft decision on our reform must be fundamentally different. The formulation that he is proposing is this: The new draft should be created on the basis of the drafts presented by the president, the government, and the Shatalin group."

Ruvinskiy concludes his report.

Gorbachev Heads Committee To Revise Draft

Presents Changes in Text

LD2409203590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Report on USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's remarks at the Supreme Soviet session, by correspondent Nikiforov, in Moscow on 24 September; from the "Supreme Soviet Diary" program]

[Text] During a short break [in the Supreme Soviet session today], four committees and commissions worked together with Academician Shatalin and Prime Minister Ryzhkov for 45 minutes on producing an agreed draft intended to suit everyone. This work was led by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the country's president. It was only natural, therefore, that he should report to the deputies on the outcome.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Our premise is that the draft which has been submitted and has been voted through by you will remain in force, providing a basis for the final draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There is no change to be made to the heading. There is one alteration to be made to the preamble, that is: Noting their similarity; and going on to: Realizing the need to speed up the transition, and so forth. We are taking out the word main, because the debate on whether or not it is main, and so forth, is starting. Therefore, we are simply dropping this one word. All the rest stays the same.

In the section reserved for the decision, we have decided to add the following to point one: It is deemed necessary, on the basis of the draft program submitted by the president of the USSR, the draft program submitted by the council.... The passage saying: And the draft program submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers, will be

removed, and the words: The program drafted on the instructions of the USSR and the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, are inserted. We are inserting the wording suggested by Comrade Sobchak and other comrades. The rest of it stays the same.

So we are making one change. We are adding: The program drafted on the instructions of the president of the USSR and the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. We discussed this question.

Bearing in mind that you had rejected the term: On the basis—it used to read: Taking the government's program into account—we returned to this, too, toward the end of the discussions, on Friday [21 September] I think. At that time I spoke on that question and this is what I said. I said that the debate and reworking of all the drafts submitted to the Supreme Soviet had basically shown that not one single draft could be regarded by the Supreme Soviet as final. You remember that. This means that we have to act on the basis of all the documents available to the Supreme Soviet.

Furthermore, criticism was directed to both the presidential draft—well, not the presidential draft, but the draft put forward by the president, that would be more accurate—and the draft put forward by the government was also subjected to criticism. The Shatalin draft—or the draft by the group headed by Shatalin, which was examined in the Russian Federation—was likewise subjected to serious criticism. All drafts were subjected to thorough criticism. At the same time, all the breakthroughs, as it were, achievements, and strong points of each draft were emphasized. I felt that there is in the Supreme Soviet—just as at the previous stage of work on the draft program, incidentally, as emerged back at the time when Comrade Yeltsin, Ryzhkov, Silayev, and I agreed on the need for having one program, one draft—I feel that there is now, too, understanding in the Supreme Soviet that we can, in general—if we cast aside political ambitions and political calculations, and realistically proceed from economic realities—we indeed can and must arrive at a unified draft of the transition to the market. In this sense, this unified draft will differ starkly from everything that was at the disposal of the Supreme Soviet and our public and our scientific public, and so forth. It is thus logical to record: On the basis of the draft program submitted by the president, that submitted by the government, on the basis of the draft program—as Comrade Sobchak just said, and others joined him—drawn up on the instructions of the USSR president and the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, namely the two-volume program by Comrade Shatalin's group, which was the subject of examination in the Russian Supreme Soviet. [sentence as heard] We are thus bringing all this together, so to speak, integrating them as a basis upon which to arrive at a unified draft. [end recording]

This time too, however, there was no getting away without questions. Many of them were addressed to the president in person, asking him to explain his position. Deputy Filshin asked one such question.

[Begin recording] [Filshin] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, I believe Academician Shatalin said quite clearly here that these programs are incompatible, and we all know very well that they are incompatible, and they cannot be made compatible on issues. So, my question is: If you wish to save the government by this maneuvering that is currently taking place, this will very likely lead to our discrediting the USSR Supreme Soviet as well. Therefore, I believe we ought to examine the decision, the draft decision submitted by Academician Shatalin along with what you have proposed. I believe this draft has one key aspect: we approve the program which has been set out by the president of the USSR. I think we can unite our efforts around this issue.

[Lukyanov] But you are asking a question, Comrade Filshin, ask your question. Mikhail Sergeyevich, go ahead now, please.

[Gorbachev] Very well. I can say the following with regard to this. Maybe I will start to repeat myself, but I should avoid repetition. I believe the point is that we are making a very serious choice today. Regarding the main aspects and components of the choice: having chosen this path, we should proceed with confidence, after having taken all possible security measures. In order to do this, we must consider all the concerns, processes, and realities within our society. We must at all times view this society with all its diversity and complexity, whether we like it or not. We must not fail to see this reality. Moreover, there can be no policy if we fail to see this reality. The reality is that people notice numerous positive aspects in all the drafts, and they see weaknesses in all the drafts and, at the same time—and this is very important—they speak in favor of moving toward market relations.

If this is passed, the president will be entrusted with heading the concluding stage of the efforts to reach a unified, synthesized program which would ensure for us a successful course for market relations and a maximum consensus in society, rather than confrontation. This must be done, and this draft, I think, reflects this.

As for the second part, about saving the government and so forth, I think, you know that I am not the one who is saving it. The Supreme Soviet will decide what to do. This is in the first place. In the second place, do not simplify the question facing the government, as you are trying to do here, referring to something or other. It is well known how long this government has been in office, and people criticize it harshly and hold it accountable.

I must also tell you that a significant proportion of society supports the government and wants to see it continue. This position may well stem from a simple, sober-minded calculation by people who are not too sophisticated or overburdened with knowledge but who think that if you appoint others now, in a year, 18 months, or two years, or three years, the reevaluations

will start again and, there will be another witch hunt instead of getting down to work. Let those who today have reached this crucial stage—and, when all is said and done, we have indeed reached a crucial stage, despite differences in methods and approaches; we have agreed that it is necessary to proceed along this path—let those people act with the participation and support of society and the legislative bodies. I believe this is the most important thing, the one that determines our attitude toward this government. Indeed, when one talks about the government, one must bear in mind that this government has been working for a year and a bit, and this must not be forgotten.

So, this government...[Gorbachev changes thought] Incidentally, it was in practice renewed last year in a most fundamental manner, so this is all very serious. When I reason, when I have reached certain conclusions, I have honestly told you about them. I have already spoken about them in various auditoriums, and this is my profound conviction. Therefore, we must now unite all efforts at this decisive stage. If we split and collide head-on, then we will destroy the turning-point we have reached. This is the most important thing, Comrade Filshin. I hope that eventually we will obtain what we need. I am sure. I am sure. For this reason I am undertaking this work to head this commission for revision and elaboration, and I hope we will cooperate with the committees, with all of you, and get the document we need. [end recording]

The coordinated draft decision with amendments was adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Let me point out, however, that Deputy Stankevich insisted that the draft proposed by Academician Shatalin also be put to the vote. But this suggestion was not supported by the Supreme Soviet.

In the afternoon deputies moved on to discussion of the draft decision on additional measures to stabilize the economic and sociopolitical life of the country. This document, closely bound up with the decision about which we have already spoken, for the purposes of stabilizing the situation in the country, grants the president, until 31 March 1992, the right to issue, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, emergency decrees of a normative kind and to give instructions on matters of ownership relations, the organization and administration of the economy, the budget and finance system, pay and price formation, and the strengthening of law and order. If the USSR Supreme Soviet does not deem the established rules necessary, it has the right to recommend to the president that he alter or renounce his adopted decision.

As he did on Friday [21 September], Deputy Golik presented the draft and once again he had to reply to numerous questions by deputies. Some of these questions were, frankly, cause for concern. For example: Why does the president need special powers if there is a permanently functioning parliament that can make decisions? This is not a matter, Deputy Golik stressed, of emergency powers. It is not even a matter of special powers, something that is sometimes mentioned by deputies and which has caused a reaction by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. After all, special powers belong to no one; they are granted either to a person or to a body in cases of awful events—as Deputy Golik put it: war, natural disaster, and so forth. This is a matter only of the delegation of legislation and the right of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a small part of which is handed over for the period of the program's implementation, a strictly set period.

However, even such descriptions as these did not quite satisfy deputies. For precisely this reason Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev again took the floor.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] The situation—we acknowledge it as such—requires that the authorities, and first of all the executive authority, should function effectively. It is not enough that you and I acknowledge it. Even if we did not acknowledge it, we cannot avoid the fact that all society is speaking out resolutely in favor of this, and it is now placing at the forefront the task of stabilization—political, legal and economic—as the task of tasks, without resolving that we are unable to move along any path, in any direction at all. Therefore, to transfer the process of debating this very important issue to the plane of juridical discussions, of competition, is not serious. Then what is the adoption of additional powers to anyone? It is responsibility. It is quite clear what situation we are talking about and what we are speaking of—responsibility. So this should not be presented, as it were, as being like someone grabbing something straight from the hands of the Supreme Soviet. In the final analysis, is the Supreme Soviet interested in its laws being implemented? [affirmative murmurs from auditorium] It is. Well, this is directed at just that.

Procedure: I categorically oppose what Comrade Ryabchenko wishes to impose, to insert a clause to the effect that the government should sit nonstop in the Supreme Soviet instead of managing the country's national economy. Let us provide the rights, and let them be limited to some period of time and be within a framework determined for the president, and make him come here and give evidence for a week before he decides anything.

No, in that case keep those rights for yourselves! Keep them and use them. Manage and implement. Comrades, is it really possible to raise the question in such an unserious manner? What is this producing, generally speaking? What is happening, in general? What is happening is that, on the one hand, from all the screens and in all the newspapers, and on the other, from the educated, the uneducated, and those who are poorly educated—both supporters and opponents—everyone has now agreed that we need a more effective functioning of authority, and especially of executive authority. This is perfectly clear. This is perfectly clear. The fact that this is not yet happening is causing everyone distress and giving rise to much criticism and many proposals on this score.

Is this right? It is right. Do we need to change? Yes, we need to change. We have reached the point where we have to change. This is now being torpedoed.

So then, what is the matter? No, it turns out that we are not changing all this, and we are not tackling these issues so that life should really begin to change, and the authority should bring a positive influence to bear for the better—something that the people count upon—but in order to continue political speculation on these issues. This is what the issue is. We must call things by their names. We must stop. I would not go so far as to make an appeal to you now, on the basis of these utterances of mine, to give it to me or else.

No. I am continuously asking you too to be firm when there is need for that, to be decisive, and to adopt decisions, but not to give into, you know, these primitive passions, and to go along with the changes, with perestroyka. We must not start a fight, especially now. I am always consulting you when we set about resolving such great tasks, and people rightly pay heed. They would be concerned most of all either by the paralysis of power, or a fight at that time. That is a feast in time of plague.

Therefore, I ask you to adopt that decision. I assure you that this decision and these delegated powers will be used with the proper responsibility, because I believe that even more responsibility accrues as a result of that. [end recording]

The draft decision proposed by the committees and commissions was adopted as a basis. Taking account of the fact that a quorom in both chambers voted for it, the decision was adopted on transforming it into law.

Deputies Adopt 'Compromise' Plan

LD2409112790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] At the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. We are going over to the correspondent's post in the Kremlin. Aleksandr Ruvinskiy is at the microphone.

[Ruvinskiy] There is now a break at the session. I must say that I could hardly imagine that I would ever see the picture that I saw today. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was persuading the people's deputies not to support his program unconditionally, but to take the opinion of the people and objective reality into account. And people's deputies were persuading Mikhail Sergeyevich and the other section of the deputies that they finally had to make a choice, to take as a basis the program of the president and of Shatalin, to take this program and move forward—which is in fact what was proposed by the majority of the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet.

But nevertheless the decision adopted was a compromise one. No one program was given preference. Some sort of symbiosis of three programs is to be created, to be prepared by the middle of October. This will be done under the guidance of the president, taking into account the opinion of all the republics, both Union and autonomous, and also of the krays and oblasts. Although—let me remind you—until recently all leading specialists considered it impossible to make this conjunction.

Well, that is the result of the morning at our Supreme Soviet. It seems that it aroused quite a lot of satisfaction, primarily among the supporters of the government program.

Ahead on the agenda is another decision by the Supreme Soviet, which is to be discussed today and perhaps adopted: on extraordinary measures for the stabilization of the economy, and on giving special extra powers to the president for the next year and a half.

It is also to hear information about the preparation of the Union treaty.

With that, I end my report for the moment.

Deputies Propose Amendments

LD2409114190 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Excerpt] The USSR Supreme Soviet has approved in the main the draft decision on urgent measures to stabilize the economy and turning over to market relations. An overwhelming majority of the deputies, 323, voted for this, 11 against. Actually, approval was given to a program of moving over to a market presented by the USSR president, Mikhail Gorbachev, who is taking part in today's meeting of parliament.

After the voting, the deputies began discussing each article of the draft separately, making numerous amendments. The most drastic changes are introduced to that part of the program that concerns social guarantees of the population. And another question expected to be discussed later in the day is introducing additional measures to mobilize the economic, public, and political situation in the country, which means giving the president the right to issue fast enough decrees on economic and law protection problems in accordance with the Constitution. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev's Amendments Endorsed

LD2409115990 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev told the Soviet parliament that none of the plans to move the country towards a market economy can be adopted as final.

He said that, as a result of a Conciliation Commission meeting with the participation of the leaders of number of parliamentary committees, Soviet Prime Minister

Nikolay Ryzhkov and Academician Stanislav Shatalin, a draft resolution is being suggested to the country's parliament.

The draft resolution asks the president to prepare a single integrated programme for the transition to a market. This must be done on the basis of the programmes suggested by Gorbachev himself (based on the Shatalin version), by the country's government and the document worked out on assignment from the president and Russian parliament chairman (known as the "500 days" programme).

According to the president, the Conciliation Commission supports the draft resolution prepared by parliamentary committes and suggests amendments to it.

It is essential "not to lose the strong points of any draft, including the committees' suggestions," the president said.

"On the basis of this it is necessary to work out a single project," Gorbachev emphasised, pointing to the opportunity which is opening up "to integrate everything that is valuable from all the documents."

"We are making a very serious choice today," Gorbachev said. "This choice both in the main thing and in its components should be such so that we, upon taking the chosen road, could move confidently ahead, safeguarding ourselves to the maximum."

Having emphasised the need to take into account realities and the opinion of the people who pay attention to many positive aspects and to weak points in all the drafts, Gorbachev said that a single programme "should ensure the maximum of accord in society, not confrontation".

Gorbachev also urged members of parliament "not to simplify the issue" concerning the resignation of the country's government. Having recalled that the USSR Council of Ministers it its present composition has been functioning for slightly more than a year, the president stated that "a considerable section supports the government," despite the fact that some "scathingly criticise" it.

"It is now essential to join hands at the current decisive stage. If we split or get to loggerheads, we shall ruin the entire effort," the president emphasised, having voiced hope that the deputies would reach accord, "on the basis of which we shall move forward".

By a majority of votes deputies endorsed the amendments introduced by the president on behalf of the Conciliation Commission. The document will be put to the final vote later.

Deputies View Presidential Powers

LD2409140190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Today's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is very heated. We have already reported that a choice was to be made today on the program for the stabilization of the national economy and the switch to a market economy. All the main programs presented to the Supreme Soviet have been adopted as a basis; and they are to be prepared, under the guidance of the USSR president, in a single final program by 15 October.

As you will realize, this is a compromise solution, one which apparently offends no one, possibly with the exception of those who have already unequivocally chosen a program.

At the moment, another decision is being discussed: on additional measures to stabilize the economic and sociopolitical life of the country. The people's deputies addressed this issue on Friday but no decision was adopted then. Its essence lies in granting the president some of the powers of the Supreme Soviet. Well, it has to be said that not all the deputies were able to grasp this document right away. Some believed that it was a change to the Constitution, something only the congress could adopt. And the questions alone asked of the person giving the report lasted for almost 40 minutes.

Then Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev took the floor. He expressed dissatisfaction that the debate on this issue was so stormy as well as with the standpoints of a number of deputies who concentrated attention on juridical subtleties. The adoption of the decision, he said, would have as its aim the more effective functioning of power.

Discussion of this issue is now beginning, following Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech. And I will end my report with that for now.

Deputies Approve 'Special Powers' for Gorbachev

Powers Valid Until March 1992

AU2409132890 Paris AFP in English 1321 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 24 (AFP)—The Soviet parliament voted overwhelmingly Monday to give special powers to President Mikhail Gorbachev during the transition to a market economy.

The resolution was adopted by 305 votes to 36 with four abstentions, but it could still be modified under Soviet parliamentary procedure.

The resolution provides for Mr. Gorbachev to have special powers until March 31, 1992, enabling him to govern by decree and giving him a wider margin of manoeuvre.

Deputy Details 'Special Powers'

LD2409141490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1344 GMT 24 Sep 90

[From the "Panorama" program, with correspondent Lyudmila Semina]

[Excerpts] Today, as a result of the most acute, even harsh debate, the USSR Supreme Soviet session has made two serious decisions. The USSR Supreme Soviet's law on additional measures for the stabilization of the country's sociopolitical life has just been adopted; that is, on the strengthening of executive power, taking into account the complexity of the sociopolitical situation. The president has been allotted special powers. There is a long list.

[passage omitted] I have invited Valeriy Ivanovich Voskoboynikov, member of the Supreme Soviet—he is deputy chairman of its Commission on Transport and Communications, a deputy from Novyy Urengoy, a helipcopter pilot by profession—to take part in our reportage.

[Voskoboynikov] [passage omitted] The decision on additional measures for the stabilization of the economic and sociopolitical life of the country, which has become law as a result of the Supreme Soviet ballot, predetermines exactly the president's urgent intervention in a restricted range of matters to accelerate economic reform. It is not a question of granting the president extraordinary powers, as people often attempt to portray it. It is a question of the president being forced to contradict the laws adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet—well, in particular, let us say, the budget plans which we ratified last year are law; and if the president intends to curtail expenditure on the administration sphere or expenditure on defense in order to implement individual directions, in particular with regard to issues of ownership, the organization and administration of the national economy, the budget and financial system, wages and price formation, then in this case he is confronted by contradictions.

That is, he is forced to break the law. He can only break a law adopted by the Supreme Soviet in one case. So as not to create this situation, and so that for the resolution of a single specific narrow issue, it is not necessary to subject the country to what are, in my view, some onerous trials, the decision has been adopted on these [as heard] positions, where the president is granted the opportunity to adopt decrees of a normative nature and to give instructions on these matters. I consider this to be a sensible stance. [passage omitted]

'Stormy Debates' Summarized

LD2409162790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Now we have a report from the Kremlin on the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The report has just been brought here and edited and let me ask the editor to give us the video film.

[Begin correspondent Tsygankov recording] Today, there has been a summation of the stormy debates on the country's transition to a market economy which took place throughout last week at plenary sittings of the chambers and in the committees and commissions of the Union parliament. On the instructions of the Supreme Soviet, a draft decision was prepared. Vologzhin, chairman of the Committee on Issues of Economic Reform, acquainted parliamentarians with it. Important corrections have been introduced into the new version. In particular, the title of the document has been changed. It now reads: On Urgent Measures To Stabilize the National Economy and the Program for the Transition to a Market Economy. The remarks and amendments of many deputies have been taken into account in the draft, on which a further four committees and commissions have worked. They concern ecology, the initial conditions of individual republics and various regions during the transition to a market system, and the level of social protection for citizens. And, most important, the formation of a unified program for the stabilization of the national economy and its switch to market conditions will be implemented on the basis of draft programs presented by the country's president and the Union government.

This was the result of the voting. [Video shows voting board with the following figures: for—323, against—11, abstentions—56] The decision was adopted as a whole, but, during discussion of the amendments, keen arguments arose over some of its points. Voting on the first point of the document was held four times. The essence of the amendment by Deputies Popov, Ryabchenko, Zhuravlev, and Sobchak was that a clear choice should be indicated: To give preference to the program of the president and Shatalin's working group and to attempt, moreover, to take into consideration the proposals of the country's Council of Ministers. However, all the proposed amendments were either rejected or failed to receive the necessary number of votes.

In order to reach a consensus, the deputies decided to set up a conciliation committee headed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and to instruct it to revise the document. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet 24 Sep Session Detailed

LD2409193690

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1750 GMT on 24 September begins a recorded account of the 24 September session of the USSR Supreme Soviet from the Kremlin in Moscow. An announcer decribes the session and presents recorded portions of deputies' remarks.

At 1750 GMT, the announcer says that a report on the morning and afternoon sessions will now be shown,

followed by the evening session in full. There will be no report on the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session.

At 1751 GMT, Lukyanov opens the session, referring back to Friday's debate and instructions to commissions and committees to prepare draft decisions. He then passes the floor to the chairman of Economic Reform Commission, Vologzhin.

At 1753 GMT, Vologzhin reports on the commission's work, summarizing some of the points made by various deputies.

At 1755 GMT, the announcer refers to other points made by speakers in the debate, including Sobchak, Shcherbak, and Samarin. It was decided to set up a single commission. Gorbachev spoke after the interval, the announcer concludes.

At 1756 GMT, Gorbachev takes the floor and discusses some of the amendments to the draft.

At 1819 GMT, Lukyanov asks if there are any more questions. Another unnamed deputy asks about the wording of "declaration of sovereignty" in the draft. Gorbachev looks at his papers and points out where this lies, somewhere at the end of Point 2.

At 1821 GMT, Deputy (Richin) has a question about distribution of powers, and Gorbachev says this is included in Point 2.

At 1822 GMT, Deputy Filshin says that Shatalin's program must be presented along with that of the president. Gorbachev reiterates that there is no avoiding the fact that we must take all of today's realities into account, whether we like some of them or not. He refers back to Abalkin's report and the importance of the points in it. Gorbachev says all forces must be pooled together on this decisive step. He is convinced that eventually we will all agree on this.

At 1829 GMT, Lukyanov reads out proposals from various deputies to take a vote on some of the proposed amendments made by the president. He then tries to put this to the vote, but deputies want to ask more questions about the amendments. An unnamed deputy is confused about the date when transition to the market is to start. Gorbachev says a date is not really important.

At 1832 GMT, Lukyanov asks for a vote on these amendments. The voting is 285 for, 36 against, and 60 abstentions. The draft with Gorbachev's amendments is passed.

At 1834 GMT, Shatalin takes the floor and says it is pity that we did not take the president's program as a base.

At 1837 GMT, the evening session opens, after the announcer says that it will be presented in full.

At 1838 GMT, Lukyanov is in the chair; he asks deputies to register. There are 409 deputies present. Lukyanov says that two committees have prepared the draft decision on economic stabilization and transition to a market and calls on deputies to speak about it.

At 1841 GMT, the debates open. Golik, chairman of a commission, reads out some of the points made by his members.

At 1846 GMT, deputies question Golik on various points of the program, including price-fixing, the president's powers, etc.

At 1857 GMT, Sobchak also asks a question about the president's powers, especially with regard to emergency situations where certain guilty officials have not been brought to justice. Golik tries to give an explanation but is interrupted by Sobchak who is not happy with his reply.

At 1901 GMT, other deputies question Golik concerning the delegation of the powers of the Supreme Soviet and Golik is forced to state from the Constitution what these powers are, including the president's "special powers" in the event of emergency situations. Golik also clarifies for another deputy the powers of soviets of people's deputies. Several deputies refer to "unethical" remarks made by Travkin commenting on Gorbachev's speech on Friday.

At 1913 GMT, Golik continues to answer questions about his commission's report. Lukyanov asks a deputy not to enflame passions after he refers to the "crisis" situation in the country.

At 1919 GMT, there is a further question on wording of text, then Golik goes on to answer a written question, which is directed to Gorbachev.

At 1921 GMT, Lukyanov gives the floor to Gorbachev. Gorbachev asks the deputies not to delay the proceedings and asks that that decision on presidential powers be adopted.

At 1933 GMT, Lukyanov asks whether the issue should be put to the vote. The vote is taken: 305 for, 36 against, 41 abstained. The decision is adopted.

At 1934 GMT, Belozertsev takes the floor, making procedural objections, and objecting to misinformation. On behalf of the Democratic faction in the Supreme Soviet, he reads out a protest about the television coverage of the 21 September session. There must be full relays of proceedings to avoid misinforming the public. He calls for Gorbachev, Yazov, and Kryuchkov to explain military movements in and around Moscow, and about the lack of adequate information, which is increasing stresses and strains in the country.

At 1939 GMT, Gorbachev asks where such information comes from, calling for specific names to be named so that allegations can be checked.

At 1940 GMT, Belozertsev reiterates his right to demand a reply without naming his sources of information.

At 1941 GMT, Burlatskiy at the rostrum calls for calm and constructive discussion, citing the experience of other countries which have shown the benefits of a stable executive power. The USSR Supreme Soviet must act jointly with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Yeltsin must work together with Gorbachev, to implement the program to carry the country forward. He makes the distinction between normative and administrative decrees. The president is being granted powers which he in fact already has according to the Constitution, namely the right to adopt enforceable acts. He therefore suggests an amendment that additional powers be granted to the president.

At 1948 GMT, Lukyanov puts this amendment to the vote: 113 for, 158 against, 76 abstentions, amendment not carried.

At 1949 GMT, an unidentifed deputy vociferously demands the floor saying that instructions must be given to central television immediately; the Vremya program carried only snippets of Gorbachev, and did not carry much of what the ethics committee discussed.

At 1950 GMT, Nenashev, Gosteleradio chief, at the microphone, says no distortions have been broadcast deliberately; partial broadcasts are all that can be carried. Television cannot cope with the long six-hour sessions; there is no time for broadcasting, assembling, and transcribing, etc. The casts must be edited and this takes time.

At 1953 GMT, Samarin takes the floor, standing for radical transformation, and he says there can be no radical transformations without radical powers for the president. The whole draft should be adopted, without amendments.

At 1955 GMT, Lukyanov invites Matveyenko to take the floor. The deputy says the RSFSR Supreme Soviet objection is unjustified, and the USSR Supreme Soviet should not have to apologize for its actions in this time of need. She has had many letters from constituents calling for parliament to get on with its job and stop messing about.

At 1958 GMT, Kryuchkov takes the floor, responding to (Belozertsev)'s question. The situation on some of the republican borders has deteriorated, for instance between some Central Asian republics; therefore military units were strengthened. Military units have been helping with the harvest. The Ryazan division is in Moscow in connection with the November celebrations and will return home after that.

At 2002 GMT, Deputy Luchikov, who is in Golik's commission, takes the floor, complaining about procedural nit-picking diverting attention from the main issue, namely that of granting powers to the president.

At 2005 GMT, Lukyanbov says that since there is an absolute majority for the resolution, it should be regarded as a law, and calls for a vote on that: 277 for, 41 against, 52 abstained.

At 2007 GMT, Sobchak takes the floor, with amendments to the text. Then he refers to Gorbachev's comments on his speech: There must be control of the legislative power, if the Supreme Soviet is talking about granting the president legislative powers. Each decree must be ratified.

At 2010 GMT, Lukyanov reads from the Constitution, which describes the president's powers. Vote taken: 94 for, 211 against, 70 abstained.

At 2012 GMT, Deputy Smirnov comes to rostrum raising an amendment: vote taken and carried.

At 2015 GMT, unidentified deputy raises a point about the president's powers to create and abolish all-Union bodies. Deputy Medvedev corrects the wording to administrative bodies. Golik comes to microphone to clarify the point. Vote taken, 49 for, 171 against, 111 abstentions.

At 2019 GMT, Deputy Bocherov reads out draft decision, adding that the USSR president should make decisions in conjunction with the presidents of the republics, adding this to the wording: amendment not carried.

At 2023 GMT, Deputy Boldyrev notes that Shatalin's program contains restrictions on presidential powers, and he suggests amendments calling for the agreement of the republics to be taken into account. Vote: 72 for, 211 against, 68 abstentions.

At 2027 GMT, Deputy Shapovalenko proposes an amendment calling for an enhanced fight against speculation. An unidentified deputy draws attention to the concept of currency speculation. A heated discussion on the issue ensues among other deputies. Vote: 221 for, 59 against, 53 abstained.

At 2033 GMT, Deputy Filshin draws attention to imprecise wording in the draft decision on presidential powers regarding contractual obligations between enterprises. Golik takes the rostrum again to clarify matters. Vote: 166 for, 104 against, 72 abstained.

At 2037 GMT, Deputy Denisov discusses point two of the decision, suggesting amendments to wording. Golik dashes back to the rostrum to clarify issue.

At 2038 GMT, Deputy Smirnov raises the point that presidential powers to abolish existing bodies will lead to uncertainty about the future for collectives, and suggests changes in the wording. Vote: 144 for, 112 against, 55 abstained.

At 2041 GMT, Deputy Glazkov proposes an amendment on dealing a blow against speculation.

At 2043 GMT, procedural announcements on sittings of commissions and committees.

At 2044 GMT, the recorded report ends.

Gorbachev's Speeches at 24 Sep Session Highlighted

Discusses Revision to Draft Plan

LD2409223390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1757 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Remarks by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the USSR Supreme Soviet morning session in the Kremlin on 24 September—recorded]

[Text] We have discussed the situation and the specific proposals surrounding the draft decision. Our premise is that the draft which has been submitted and voted through by you, will remain in force, providing a basis for the final draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There is no change to be made to the heading. There is one alteration to be made to the preamble, that is: Noting their similarity; and going on to: Realizing the need to speed up the transition, and so forth. We are taking out the word main, because the debate on whether or not it is main, and so forth is starting. Therefore, we are simply dropping this one word. All the rest stays the same.

In the section reserved for the decision, we have decided to add the following to point one: It is deemed necessary, on the basis of the draft program submitted by the president of the USSR, the draft programme submitted by the Council.... The passage saying: And the draft program submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers will be removed, and the words: The program drafted on the instructions of the USSR president and the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet are inserted. We are inserting the wording suggested by Comrade Sobchak and other comrades. The rest of it stays the same.

So we are making one change. We are adding: The program drafted on the instructions of the president of the USSR and the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. We discussed this question.

Bearing in mind that you had rejected the term: On the basis— it used to read: Taking the government's program into account—we returned to this, too, toward the end of the discussions, on Friday [21 September] I think. At that time I spoke on that question and this is what I said. I said that the debate and reworking of all the drafts submitted to the Supreme Soviet had basically shown that not one single draft could be regarded by the Supreme Soviet as final. You remember that. This means that we have to act on the basis of all the documents available to the Supreme Soviet.

Furthermore, criticism was directed to both the presidential draft—well, not the presidential draft, but the draft put forward by the president, that would be more accurate—and the draft put forward by the government was also subjected to criticism. The Shatalin draft—or the draft by the group headed by Shatalin, which was examined in the Russian Federation—was likewise subjected to serious criticism. All drafts were subjected to thorough criticism. At the same time, all the breakthroughs, as it were, achievements and strong points of each draft were emphasized. I felt that there is in the Supreme Soviet—just as at the previous stage of work on the draft program, incidentally, as emerged back at the time when Comrade Yeltsin, Ryzhkov, Silayev, and I agreed on the need for having one program, one draft—I feel that there is now, too, understanding in the Supreme Soviet that we can in general, if we cast aside political ambitions and political calculations, realistically proceeding from economic realities—we indeed can and must arrive at a unified draft of the transition to the market. In this sense, this unified draft will differ starkly from everything that was at the disposal of the Supreme Soviet and our public and our scientific public, and so forth. It is thus logical to record: On the basis of the draft program submitted by the president, that submitted by the government, on the basis of the draft program—as Comrade Sobchak just said, and others joined him—drawn up on the instructions of the USSR president and the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, namely the two-volume program by Comrade Shatalin's group, which was the subject of examination in the Russian Supreme Soviet. [sentence as heard] We are thus uniting all this together, so to speak, integrating them as a basis upon which to arrive at a unified draft.

In order to stress this somehow and to take into account the Supreme Soviet's suggestion we have taken down the Point Two, the headline Point Two, itself, and made it into a further paragraph so that it is within the first point: To recommend the president... and then the same as before, to the end. In other words, all this is Point One. This makes it sound quite different and gets a different meaning. I think you understand all the dialectics of such a simple action.

And Point Two is to begin with the words: In compiling the program.... This is important, incidentally, because this is what the compilers and those who will be doing the work under the guidance of the president will need to bear in mind. So Point Two, in its new wording, reads: In compiling the program special attention must be paid to.... This is all okay. We considered that it was essential. There was an argument. Some people proposed that Point Two should be omitted altogether. All the chairmen of the committees said that the most contentious questions had been synthesized, in brief, in that point—the things which all the committees and deputies had said and which needed attention in subsequent work.

So this needs to be highlighted, because we really are talking about what can even be called the decisive point in the program for the switch to the market, as far as stabilization measures are concerned. Without stabilization measures, all our calculations will be built on sand.

So these stabilization measures need firm foundations and real content. We need a timetable for their implementation. After all, comrades have already said a good deal, and rightly so, about the timetable. They have subjected it to sarcastic criticism, I would say. They find the references to Day 101, 1200 hours, amazing and so on. I realize that these are all hints that attention should be given, that more intensive reworking is evidently needed. Nevertheless, these phases will be retained. After all, if we do not complete one phase in a certain time span—let us say, it takes 120 days or X number of days instead of 100—nothing else will follow. And so on.

Therefore, it is indeed essential to include the words: Pay special attention to the reworking, content, and timetable for the implementation of the stabilization measures. It then goes on to refer to social security, price-setting, monetary policy, taxation, and science and technology. Otherwise Comrade (?Barabash) won't agree. So that is why I am saying that this point synthesizes in a compact form, as it were, the wishes of the committees. Therefore, after discussions, we decided to keep Point Two after all. But we altered the wording.

Well, we have completed page one. Let us turn the page and look at page two. Instead of saying: The creation of necessary conditions, we suggest saying: The creation of appropriate conditions. We had to do this because we need to use the word necessary later on, so we simply opted for appropriate instead. It is simply a case of re-editing.

Well, what comes next? There is the bit: Conditions for the development of the entire social sphere, the agroindustrial complex, basic industries, the stabilization of the ecological situation in the country. Then comes a comma. The words, and also on..., are being deleted. The words, pay special attention to a study of the existing disparities in the starting conditions of the republics and regions, are also going because they also understate the significance of this problem, which is actually one of a number of very important problems, so to speak.

Finally, here is what has been spoken about. As far as I know, Comrade Boldyrev had the floor and made a speech in connection with the demarcation of powers. We decided to write it down like this—so it is not fixed as something static, which is what we have today. Because, since a dynamic process is taking place, we have to, as it were, take this into account and grasp this reality of ours as it really is. And, I mean, that is why we have to write down: Initial conditions for republics and regions, comma, the need for clear-cut demarcation of powers between the Union and subjects of the Soviet Federation in the sphere of economy—that is, there will be one condition for every instance. But tomorrow, in a week, in a month it will be another one because the process is moving all the time. Nevertheless, there will be a clear-cut demarcation of who is to do what. If that is for the Union, then, within its competence, it will have a right to act decisively, without looking back. If this is the competence of a republic, its bodies of power and executive bodies will also act in a clear-cut manner, decisively and without looking back.

The situation. Well, today we have one kind of reality, tomorrow we will adopt some... reach some decisions, and a new situation will emerge. Each time it requires concerted joint action. Generally, after all, in order to go over from the present situation to a different one, the Union should, without fail, work consulting with the republics. The republics, as well, should act consulting the center, and the Union as a whole in which all of us—these republics—are united. That is, the times are such now. How can you get away from it? We change the wording: Taking account of the established legislation.... It then becomes clear that it is today and forever more, rather than: The need for a clear-cut demarcation of powers between the Union and a subject of the Soviet Federation in the sphere of economy. The third point.

The fourth point is left. We add here just one word: The USSR Council of Ministers, proceeding from laws and decisions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, and taking account of the main points of programs for transition to the market supported by committees and standing commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, should elaborate a draft budget and a draft plan for 1991. I would like to say that there was a discussion around the fourth point. It also reflects the realities. The first one is that there is no time any more. Enterprises should act, otherwise things which will not be done today will affect things from 1 January, and there will be an absolute disintegration starting from the second quarter. So this has to be done. And that is where a question emerges, the controversial question about prices, wholesale and purchase [prices]. How will it be? I think that right here it is not for nothing that we include the topic taking into account the point of view of committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the main points of these programs for transition to the market.

But Comrade Vologhzin and Comrade Kucherenko have a whole file of specific proposals on how to organize active work just now so as not to waste the fourth quarter, and the first and second, in order that, so to speak, we maintain a certain—a more or less normal situation, on the basis of which we can move toward a market economy.

Otherwise, this will again place doubts on it. But the question has arisen here as to which wholesale prices to operate on. Well, I must tell you that this question will clearly be the work of the executive power, and at the same time we shall put the finishing touches on these sections in the program which are already under the leadership of the president, and at the same time the government will act by tackling these questions in the life... of 1991.

I gave the comrades instructions as to how to ensure that by drawing upon the new wholesale purchase prices, the contractual process would be—let us, perhaps, take these

wholesale and purchase prices as a guideline. In what sense? On the basis of them. But the two sides, as it were, come together, and elaborations are made. By the way, I received some information yesterday—it was given to me and I read it out. It turns out that this process is going on, and when enterprises merge it turns out that, in the first place, 30 percent of output now has no one to consume it. Approximately... yes. Therefore, to simply impose contractual and purchase [prices] still does not mean doing everything. Clearly, one should not get away from this guideline, this basis, and the process of merging—in other words, these elements of a market economy will be present here. This transitional period is possible, I think. I am not making any claims right now, I am simply saying that we must allow the government to act, and probably in life a clash of interests will enable it to harmonize these interests. And this will show us—and the final elaboration of the program will too—what life is producing, what stimuli it is producing, and enable us to find a better variant. This is not a theoretical question, comrades, it is a question posed by life. Incidentally, if one continues and quotes data—not quotes, but alludes to this data which has been sent to me, and one was sent by the president of the Association of Commercial Organizations which provides services for enterprises and arranges ties for them,—then they voice the opinion that from the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] they will not find—Pavel Ivanovich is probably here, and he will perhaps take account of it, that is another question, a question of life and work—they will not find a normal, so to speak, merging point in their work.

Well, what else is he saying? He is saying that approximately 30 to 40 percent of prices, 40 percent, are being preserved in fact at the same level as they are. Contractual ones—nothing is getting changed. And with about 10 percent—from 10 to 30 percent of the output, this is the scale—the contractual price exceeds the already existing wholesale price by 2 to 6 times. You can see what happens. At one end, there is no consumer for 30 percent of output—no one even orders. This is when the market starts to have a corrective effect, when it is not simply thrust upon, but when something market-like happens.

That is why, I think, that is the way, but the government should be allowed to do it—it will find answers itself. Maybe, it is not so?

And, maybe, today Comrade Mostovoy, Pavel Ivanovich, would have asked to speak and say that it is not so. Well, this is a process, but, nevertheless, we deemed it necessary to insert Point Four, as without it there cannot be any talk about stabilization, but to insert it in the way that a transfer to the market would be taken into account. Well, I have reported everything to you.

We had proposals by some comrades—we discussed all of them. There was a proposal by Deputy Khmura, deputy—well, I have already mentioned Deputy Sobchak, we rejected his proposal for the second part, which was to insert now a clause on the reorganization of the entire system of power administration. This is a separate issue, and I think that we—all sides have already expressed their opinions on this topic. I think we cannot avoid this, but this is not the subject now. The program and the progress along this path will show us what should be done, and what is to be done in the near future.

Further, there is a note from Comrade Volkov. We have considered it, Comrade Volkov. We have taken into account one part—you are sitting here somewhere—one part on the preamble, and the second part—we did not consider it necessary to do this.

Well, we finished considering all the proposals of the Academician Shatalin draft—he took part. In short, this is our agreed draft that has been completed in this way.

I am summing up to refresh what we ended up with. The phrase: In the main, was taken out of the preamble. In the first and second points—we put the first point and the first paragraph of the second point together as one point, and at the same time we added that besides the program presented by the president and the government, the programs elaborated on the basis of the instruction of the USSR president and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet were also considered, and further on as the text goes. That is it.

In the second point, I already said that we replaced the phrase: Taking due account of the existing legislation, with the wording: On the need for definite demarcation of powers between the USSR and a subject of the Soviet Federation.

And in the fourth point we added that here it deals with: The programs on a transfer to the market, that is with due account of the basic clauses of the programs on a transfer to the market supported by the committees and permanent commissions of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Well, that is all.

Appeals on Presidential Powers

LD2509000790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1921 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Remarks by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the USSR Supreme Soviet evening session in the Kremlin on 24 September—recorded]

[Text] I believe that discussion of this issue is taking an incorrect direction. It is as if it were theoretical, as if we had forgotten in what time we are living, acting, and holding our session, and as if everything taking place outside this hall did not concern us. So I am beginning with what I have already begun, with what I began my speech on this issue. The situation, and we acknowledge it to be such, requires that the authorities, and first and foremost the executive power, should function effectively. It is not enough for you and I to acknowledge it. Even if we did not acknowledge it, we cannot at all avoid the fact that the whole society is speaking out resolutely in favor of this, and it is now placing at the forefront the

task of stabilization—political, legal, and economic—as the task of tasks, without whose resolution we cannot move along any path or in any direction at all. Therefore, to transfer the process of debating this very imporant issue to the plane of juridical discussions, of competition, is not serious. And I believe that the people... [changes thought] and in this case I would not transmit a report, but a 100-percent complete viewing, so that all the actors in the piece can see who is defending what. I have been observing for three days who has been going to these microphones. I can see. It is the very same ones. That is right, someone was prompting me. The very same ones. This is also a reality which needs to be analyzed. That is the first thing.

The second thing. The second thing. What a passionate speech... and I said to Comrade Sobchak that I wanted to be the first to applaud his speech in the debates on the market program when he raised the need to overcome more quickly the inabilities of all levels of executive authority to function. It is only the situation of the president, that I try not to applaud anyone, lest anyone be confused. Incidentally, you have been the first to address this in any auditorium, that I should not associate myself with any particular point of view, and that I should give everyone the opportunity to speak their minds. I have refrained, and Comrade Sobchak is now speaking against this with the same degree of persistance. That is logic.

I will tell you later what is behind all this. We should see it. To fail to see this is no longer permissible. [noise in the hall] And I can see that you too understand this. Comrade Golik has told us what the transfer means in legal terms. On the one hand, it is a commonly accepted practice and we have all already resorted to it. Do you really not remember when the Congress of Peoples' Deputies delegated its powers to you, the Supreme Soviet, to adopt the question on property, on land, and so on? Why did you not refuse then? Because it was necessary, and it has added to your powers—both coincided. But, I mean, I am not talking about this now, but did this happen? It did. This Congress' decision and what it has delegated to us when I was still, I think, chairman of the Supreme Soviet—one can put this on the table here in ten minutes. In order not to hamper the process of adopting the most important laws through which the restructuring process must move forward, this is the first thing.

The Supreme Soviet has adopted the law on ownership. And what have you written in the law, or in the decision on the implementation of this law? [voice from the hall is heard saying: "This is in the law on enterprises, Mikhail Sergeyevich"]

Or, on the enterprises. What have you written? To grant the right [voice is heard saying: "To the president"] to act in such and such a way, and postpone some things for two years. And you have delegated the rights, also there. So you have delegated them and nothing special is happening in legal terms. It is important to say this in order to get to the bottom of what some speakers want, what are they trying to achieve here. Then, what is the adoption of additional powers by somebody? It is responsibility. It is responsibility. And there is no need for simplification here. As if all this is about having tea or going to the Canary Islands somewhere. It is quite clear what situation we are talking about and what we are speaking of—responsibility. So it is not good to present this as something which someone is grabbing from the hands of the Supreme Soviet.

And last—is the Supreme Soviet interested in its laws being implemented? It is. Well, this is directed at just that. Further, there is what I have noted to myself here.

Procedure: I am categorically against what Comrade Ryabchenko wants to impose on us: to create a situation where the government is sitting in the Supreme Soviet all the time instead of managing the country's national economy.

Let us provide the rights, and let them be limited to some period of time and be within a framework determined for the president, and make him come here and give evidence for a week before he decides anything.

No, in that case, keep those rights for yourselves! Keep them and use them. Manage and implement. Comrades, is it really possible to raise the question in such an unserious manner? What is this producing, generally speaking? What is happening, in general? What is happening is that, from all the screens and in all the newspapers on the one hand and from the educated, the uneducated, and those who are poorly educated, both supporters and opponents, on the other, everyone has now agreed that we need a more effective functioning of authority and especially of executive authority. This is perfectly clear. This is perfectly clear. The fact that this is not yet happening is causing everyone distress and giving rise to much criticism and many proposals on this score. Is this right? It is right. Do we need to change? Yes, we need to change. We have reached the point where we have to change. This is now being torpedoed.

So, then, what is the matter? No, it turns out that we are not changing all this, and we are not tackling these issues so that life should really begin to change and that the authority should bring a positive influence to bear, for the better, something that the people count upon, but in order to continue political speculations on these issues. This is what the issue is. We must call things by their names. We must stop. I would not go so far as to appeal to you now on the basis of these utterances of mine to give it to me, or else.

No. I am always asking you, too, to be firm when there is need for that, to be decisive, and to adopt decisions, but not to give in to, you know, these primitive passions, and to go along with the changes, with perestroyka. We must not start a fight, especially now. I am always asking you when we have set about resolving such great tasks, and people rightly pay heed. They would be concerned most

of all either by the paralysis of power or a fight at that time. That is a feast in time of plague.

Therefore, I ask you to adopt that decision. I assure you that that decision and these delegates' powers will be used with the proper responsibility because I believe that even more responsibility accrues as a result of that.

Now Comrade Sobchak asks: They always want—on Friday [21 September] they were asking: Why, why does the president not use... why does he not act? I thought we had exhausted this subject on Friday, and Comrade Medvedev—he has changed his seat—was right when he said that this is connected to a considerable extent with the ineffectiveness of those presidential decrees where it was necessary to use military force, or impose a state of emergency, or do both those things, in order to ensure their implementation [sentence as heard]. All this is set out in the Constitution—what can be done with the republics—so I must say that the president has never gone against the opinion of the republics. Never. [Voice from the hall shouts: "What about Lithuania?"]

What about Lithuania? [indistinct voices]

Lithuania—If we are talking about that, then the president, in order to dot all the i's, must impose presidential rule, but we acted, and made a choice, and, together with you—I have spoken about this to you more than once, and proved that this was the correct path, a path of political solutions. And I believe that we have not exhausted the subject of Lithuania completely, and that is why we are acting precisely in this way.

Some people may consider the actions of the president incorrect, but allow the president, whom you have elected on behalf of the country, also to have his own opinion, and not to be a puppet. Within the bounds of my competence determined by the Constitution, I take upon myself the responsibility and maintain—I can hear satisfied and dissatisfied voices, but I have a mind of my own and my own understanding of things, and so long as I am president I will proceed from this, at the same time hearing out the opinion of each and every one, and I believe that you cannot reproach me over this. I ask you to adopt this document. [applause]

Resolution on Economic Reform Program Detailed

PM2409210190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On Urgent Measures to Stabilize the National Economy and the Program of the Transition to a Market Economy'"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Having examined the draft programs submitted by the USSR president and the USSR Government to stabilize the economy and make the transition to the market, and noting the coincidence in their understanding of the need for an accelerated transition to market relations, including in such important questions as reducing state control, demonopolization, strengthening economic ties, forming the infrastructure of the all-Union market, organizing foreign economic activity, and retraining cadres, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. It is to be deemed necessary, on the basis of the draft program submitted by the USSR president, the draft program submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers, the draft program elaborated on behalf of the USSR president and the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and also the proposals made during their discussion, to prepare a unified program to stabilize the national economy and make the transition to a market economy.

The USSR president is to be instructed [rekomendovat] to organize work on completing the shaping of a unified program to stabilize the national economy and make the transition to a market economy with the participation of the corresponding USSR Supreme Soviet committees, the standing commissions of the chambers, the drafters of the programs, and also representatives of Union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs.

2. When shaping the program, special attention is to be paid to working out the substance and the deadlines for implementing stabilization measures; citizens' social protection; price, currency, tax, and scientific and technical policies; the economic education of the population; the creation of appropriate conditions for the development of the whole social sphere, the agro-industrial complex, and basic sectors, and for the stabilization of the ecological situation in the country; the differences that exist in the starting conditions of the republics and regions; and the need for the clear and mutually coordinated demarcation of powers between the USSR and subjects of the Soviet federation in the economic sphere.

3. With due regard for the conclusions and proposals by Union and autonomous republic Supreme Soviets, and soviets of people's deputies of autonomous oblasts and okrugs, the elaborated draft of the unified program to stabilize the economy and make the transition to the market is to be submitted for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet by 15 October 1990.

4. The USSR Council of Ministers, proceeding from the laws and resolutions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, and with due regard for the main provisions of the programs for the transition to the market supported by the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the standing commissions of the chambers, is to draw up the draft plan and budget for 1991.

[Signed] A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow, The Kremlin, 24 September 1990

Supreme Soviet Stabilization Law Detailed

LD2509095390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on additional measures to stabilize the economic and sociopolitical life of the country, adopted on 24 September by the USSR Supreme Soviet—read by announcer]

[Text] Taking into account the complexity of the sociopolitical situation and the need for emergency measures to bring society out of its crisis, to ensure the transition to a market economy, and to strengthen the system of governing the country and law and order, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves: First, in order to stabilize the situation in the country, to grant the USSR president, for the period up to 31 March 1992, the right to urgently issue decrees with the force of law, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, and to give instructions on matters of ownership relations, the organization of management of the national economy, the budget and finance system, pay and price formation, and the reinforcement of law and order, if the USSR Supreme Soviet does not deem it necessary to establish other rules, or does not recommend to the USSR president that he alter or revoke decisions he has adopted;

Second, to grant the USSR president the right to set up bodies and other state structures to accelerate the formation of an all-Union market and to ensure cooperation between Union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs for these purposes;

Third, to appeal to all soviets of people's deputies, political parties, trade unions, and public organizations and movements to support the efforts of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR president, and the USSR Council of Ministers to maintain civic peace and tranquility, to establish public order and state discipline, to strengthen economic ties and the normal rhythm of work of enterprises, to prevent strikes and other social conflicts, and to strengthen cooperation between all nations and national formations.

[Signed] Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Presidential Council Member on Compromise Program

LD2409134390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1030 GMT on 24 September broadcasts an eight-minute report by correspondent Lyudmila Semina on the 24 September proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.

Semina reports that discussion of the program for stabilizing the national economy and for the transition to a market economy took place at the USSR Supreme Soviet session today, and that a decision was adopted on urgent measures in this regard: it was decided to take all of the programs as a basis, and to prepare a single program for the stabilization of the national economy and its transition to the market. It is proposed that during the second half of the day another decision be adopted on additional emergency measures for the stabilization of the economic and sociopolitical life of the country, Semina reports.

Semina then states that many deputies are of the opinion that the presidential and government programs are incompatible. She speaks to Presidential Council member Venyamin Yarin about how compromises could be found here.

Yarin says: "It seems to me that only a temporary agreement has been reached today, one which in the final analysis simply delays the resolution of the issue of the composition and the future of our government. The point is, it seems to me, that it is not possible to hook two locomotives up to the special train of problems which are present today in the resolution of our economic issues and to then set them moving in different directions. There will be no movement forward; there will be a rupture in some section of the train, in the section of a problem or in the section for the resolution of some issue or other; and then we will approach the resolution of the issue anew.

"What government will be capable, in the final analysis, of acknowledging that the people—the producer or scientific worker, the doctor, teacher, or any of the social strata of our society—do not want to live so that someone from the center can simply determine—and appropriate the right for themselves to determine—how a person should live in our country."

Semina then asks: "That is, the point is not specifically about the people in the government, but that in general the very structure of the government needs to be changed under conditions whereby the republics are independent."

Yarin replies: "This is the whole problem. I am sure you understand. Let us suppose that it is not those 20, 30, 40, or 50 ministers there who are in opposition. There is an opposition in the structure of this whole huge machine, which understands very well that many of them really should leave their very comfortable armchairs and ministerial offices and really take part in sittings and not live on the backs of the people and additionally take on the right of determining who should live in what way."

Semina asks: "But all the same, what needs to be done now? What urgent measures are needed? You really do know yourself what the situation is in the towns, in your own Nizhniy Tagil in the Urals, for example, or here in Moscow."

Yarin, in reply to this question, says: "You know, you are glad sometimes when you solve some problem or other for Tagil, and at the same time you feel how humiliating it is for the representative of a town which gives the country more than 3 billion rubles in income,

produce, and so on to go from one Moscow department to another with outstretched hands. This is one point. The second point is that after today's interval in the session's work, the issue of what is now to be done will be resolved. It seems to me that measures are needed on the observation of the law. Legal nihilism began from above and has reached those below. Naturally, deputy bodies at all levels are today are pointing to those above and appropriating for themselves as well similar violations of elementary law; and from here the individual, the citizen, has also appropriated for himself the right not to observe our elementary legislation.

"Yes, it may be argued that it is not perfect; yes, some laws are lacking; but give us time. As Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin says, give us a credit of trust to make imperfect laws perfect and to supplement insufficient laws; that is, to really prepare a law-based state where the diktat is not of one class or another, but where diktat is of the law. This is probably a long process, for it is impossible to fall asleep and wake up in some new society."

In conclusion, Semina asks Yarin to predict what will happen on 15 October when the Supreme Soviet again returns to the issue of the program. Yarin states that he believes the deputies will choose the path of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin plan, and expresses his own support for this plan.

Ryzhkov Criticizes '500 Days' Plan in Interview

LD2509093190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Interview with USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, and Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, chairman of the State Commission for Economic Reform, to unidentified correspondents on 24 September at the Kremlin during an interval between sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet—recorded]

[Text] [Ryzhkov] I think that today there are neither the conquered nor the conquerors. Today there was a compromise. For the moment a break has been announced for two weeks, and the issue of choosing has been postponed. Therefore, one must try to find a solution which will be supported by the people.

[Correspondent] Why do you object to the name given to the program—500 days?

[Ryzhkov] It is not just a matter of the name. The program is an unrealistic one. I have spoken frankly about that. I think that the program is purely a populist one. It cannot be implemented, and any attempt to implement it will push things in the direction of chaos. Nonetheless, there are more differences related to appraisals of reality: The situation regarding the preparedness of the national economy, of the population for such radical, forced measures, the assessment of the state of the financial system, the realism of the measures to make it healthy, the readiness to reject decisions already adopted on social support for the population.

Shatalin and I have known each other for several decades. We are linked by a common approach to many issues, by relations of personal friendship. He and I are not competing with one another, we are not playing gladiators, as people would like to depict us—at least, some people do.

There are many actual processes that have been carried out. Privatization is going ahead. An extremely powerful sector of cooperatives is in operation. In excess of 5 million are working in that sector; 27 billion [figures as heard] is the volume of production over the half year; 300 commercial banks are already operating. We do not notice that the transition is already under way. And an improvement is under way, too. Measures are being taken, the financing of many projects is becoming more rigorous. The program for stabilization is already being implemented in this sphere, in those tasks that were connected with cutting this year's budget deficit compared with last year. And in these programs it looks as if everyone is simply sitting and waiting: The first day some kind of decree will be announced and then, on 1 October at 0600, the transition to the market will start.

Things do not happen like this. The process is under way, and financial improvement is going ahead slowly, with difficulty—perhaps not consistently, but that is another issue.

[Correspondent] Were you satisfied with the variant put forward by Gorbachev, which was ultimately agreed upon?

[Ryzhkov] Well, to be honest, it did not satisfy me because it is just dragging out time, since a choice will have to be made sooner or later. One has to dot the i's and cross the t's—We need something definite. I believe that while some sort of interim compromise has been reached, there is a chance that concord will be achieved. That is what happened today.

[Correspondent] Leonid Ivanovich, can one unite the three different programs?

[Abalkin] On some issues one has to make a choice. One cannot unite them.

Kryuchkov Addresses Session on Troop Movements

LD2409220590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1958 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Remarks by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, USSR Presidential Council member and KGB chairman, at the 24 September session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies:

A small piece of information in connection with the statement by Deputy Belozertsev. The Vitebsk Division really belongs to the State Security Committee. Several months ago at the beginning of this year, at the decision of the appropriate instances, it was transferred to the

command of the Frontier Troops in view of the fact that lately in our country the situation had sharply deteriorated on various sections of the Soviet frontier, in particular in the region of the Transcaucasus, Moldavia, and sometimes an unpleasant situation has arisen in Central Asia. The division is used when the situation takes on a practically uncontrollable nature, in view of mass crossings of the population in one direction or another. We have already reported about this. Sometimes these crossings end with tens of thousands crossing the frontier from the Soviet Union, and as many if not more from the adjacent state.

For more than three months now, the division has been standing still, it never stirs anywhere, it carries out no movements. For about two weeks it has been providing assistance in bringing in the harvest in the area where it is stationed. We have letters of gratitude from the oblast executive committee for the work which our servicemen have been doing along with family members of our servicemen.

As far as other military units are concerned which were mentioned here by Deputy Belozertsev, according to figures from military counterintelligence, which also belongs to the system of the State Security Committee, no movements likely to cause alarm have been observed. Military comrades can provide more precise information.

As far as the Ryazan Division is concerned, the information has been provided. This is a normal phenomenon. After the troop parade in Moscow on 7 November, the military units of the divisions which came here will be returned. I consider Belozertsev's statement and the events on which it is based unfounded, because they are rumors, and I think this whole business is futile. I do not think it is worthwhile raising these questions without going to the trouble of at least making preliminary inquiries, taking an interest, and getting information before deciding whether to speak at such a responsible forum or not. Thank you for your attention.

'Differences' Noted With RSFSR Supreme Soviet

LD2409171490 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—An acute debate was characteristic of today's plenary meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet. After the debate on the draft resolution "On urgent measures to stabilise the national economy and the programme of the transition to a market," it was decided to entrust to the president the organisation of the work to draft the final programme on the basis of several versions—the "presidential", governmental and "500 days" programme.

The debating became more acute when the parliament began to discuss the second document—the draft resolution "On additional measures to stabilise the country's economic and socio-political life." Its discussion was started last week. Yuriy Golik, chairman of the parliamentary committee for law and combatting crime, submitted for the discussion the perfected project.

It specifically envisions the delegation of some of legislative powers of the Supreme Soviet to the country's president so that, during the period of the transition to a market, he could promptly issue decrees to consolidate governing the country, law and order. This period is limited by March 31, 1992, that is the period during which the economic reform is planned to be completed in the main.

The decree of the Presidium of the Russian parliament adopted on Saturday, September 22, poured oil into the flames. Parliament's Presidium believes that in this situation the granting of emergency powers to the Soviet president is impermissible.

This stand of the leaders of the Russian Supreme Soviet came under fire of criticism today for the reason that the information which the Presidium used was assessed by some members of the USSR Supreme Soviet as being not in keeping with reality.

This also served as the basis for some parliamentarians proposing that the debating of this matter be put off until differences with supreme Russian legislative body are eliminated.

Because of the acuteness of the debate, President Gorbachev had to take the floor for the second time today. Noting that the discussion of the matter had taken a wrong course, Gorbachev motivated the need for parliament's delegating some of its legislative rights to the president by saying that "it is no longer possible to delay the adoption of highly important laws which should further perestroyka."

As a result of the debate the decree was adopted by a considerable majority. Moreover, on the proposal of a number of deputies it was formulated as law.

Passions were heated by the speech of Deputy Sergey Belozertsev who made a request to the president, the Defence Ministry and the KGB of the USSR in connection with the information he received about the redeployment of several airborne units in Moscow and a district close to the Soviet capital.

But passions quickly subsided after explanations by Member of the Presidential Council, Chairman of the KGB of the USSR Vladimir Kryuchkov that no troop movements which could give concern have taken place. He said that Belozertsev's statement and the rumours on which it is based are groundless.

RSFSR's 'Negative Reaction' Noted

LD2409162190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Vitaliy Gurov commentary]

[Excerpts] Monday's agenda of the USSR Supreme Soviet session includes the question of expanding the president's powers in order to put an end to the crisis in the country. The draft resolutions the lawmakers began to discuss three days ago provide for placing a number of legislative powers of the Supreme Soviet into the hands of the head of state. Vitaliy Gurov comments.

I cannot recall whether a mere discussion of this or that issue in the USSR Supreme Soviet has ever had such an immediate and rather negative reaction from the Supreme Soviet of Russia. This is precisely what happened last weekend. The next day, after debates on giving the president broader legislative and executive powers in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of Russia's parliament said that such a step would be impermissible. To my mind, writes Vitaliy Gurov, the leaders of the Russian parliament interpreted rather loosely the very term; broader powers. It was understood as: extraordinary powers. In this connection, let me remind you that in his address to the national parliament on Friday afternoon, Mikhail Gorbachev described the situation as extraordinary and unstable. Incidentally, repeated calls have been made in the USSR Supreme Soviet over the past few days for enhancing the effectiveness of government bodies. [passage omitted]

Back to the statement issued by the Presidium of the Russian parliament. It points out that the country's president will have the right to impose direct rule on republics and disband their supreme bodies of government. I believe that the Russian lawmakers see this as a certain risk that a state of emergency may be imposed. However, President Gorbachev said on Friday that the imposition of a state of emergency on the republic would in effect spell the end of perestroyka. So what does he need extraordinary power for? As he answered questions in a televised interview, one of the members of the Presidential Council, Yevgeniy Primakov, said that the president needed more powers to make day to day decisions. [passage omitted]

We have had another case of misunderstanding between the parliament of Russia and the leadership of the Union. Will they achieve understanding? One thing is certain: Without understanding no progress will be possible.

Political & Social

Ryzhkov Discusses Status of Government, Economy

PM2509093290 Rome LA REPUBLICA in Italian 22 Sep 90 p 9

["E.F." dispatch on Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov 21 September remarks to journalists at Supreme Soviet in Moscow: "Soviet Premier Defends His Reform"]

[Text] Moscow—As he left the hall of the Supreme Soviet yesterday evening, exhausted, 61-year-old Nikolay Ryzhkov was very keen to talk, to unburden himself. This is what he told a group of newspapers, including LA REPUBBLICA.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Prime Minister, why do you refuse to resign?

[Ryzhkov] Because the country is now in a disastrous situation, and it is absolutely essential to move ahead under the banner of consensus, not confrontation.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Are you not worried by the parliamentary vote of no-confidence passed in Russia, the USSR's largest republic, and the request for your resignation signed by Boris Yeltsin?

[Ryzhkov] I was appointed by the parliament of the Soviet Union, and it is that body that now would have to request my resignation. Russia has so many problems to think about that it would do well to deal with concrete matters instead of conducting campaigns. In the Moscow area 11 percent of the potatoes have not been harvested; they are still in the ground, and the local authorities, instead of dealing with this, are organizing protest demonstrations against me. What should I do: Take a spade and go and dig them up myself, the prime minister? Let Russia think about what Muscovites will eat this winter.

[LA REPUBBLICA] You said that it was necessary to choose between one plan or the other, but now suddenly you are prepared to accept a compromise. Why?

[Ryzhkov] Because the situation in the country is such that I am willing to proffer a hand to the other side, to sit down at the negotiating table to seek an understanding. And I hope that my outstretched hand will not be ignored.

[LA REPUBBLICA] What is your opinion of the "Shatalin plan"—the economic reform plan backed by Gorbachev and Yeltsin?

[Ryzhkov] It is unrealistic, and time will show that I am right. I too would like to hasten toward the market economy, but I am too well acquainted with people's attitudes, their psychology, to delude myself that this is possible. It is necessary to act cautiously, otherwise we will suffer a famine in the USSR. I am criticized only because I tell the truth, because I say that with the Shatalin plan prices will spiral sharply. What a lot of lies the people are told: They are led to believe that prices will stabilize on their own, miraculously. And when I ask: Look, exactly how far will prices rise, the answer I receive is that God only knows.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Are you in favor of granting Gorbachev full powers?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, because at the moment executive power is weak: The president cannot constantly turn to parliament and waste three months on every stage of the

economic reform. You must realize that the situation is critical. The country needs order above all.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Do you not fear a military coup?

[Ryzhkov] We have almost 300 million mouths to feed. Bayonets would not resolve anything.

[LA REPUBBLICA] How do you explain the fact that store windows are increasingly empty?

[Ryzhkov] There are several reasons. For instance, I know that some areas of Russia have failed to supply miners with food, that some republics do not provide supplies. But you journalists are always talking about empty windows without ever having seen them. I really have seem them in my time, when all that was to be found in the stores was a bottle of vinegar. And, believe me, I do not want to see that again.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Do you believe that you will still be prime minister at the end of this crisis?

[Ryzhkov] I believe that perhaps on Monday [24 September] parliament will approve the decision to seek a compromise on principled matters among the various economic reform proposals.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Nikolay Ivanovich, are you not tired of being the target of so many attacks?

[Ryzhkov] If I were not tired of it, I would not be normal. But it certainly is a strange feeling: I believe that I worked well for 40 years, and come the 41st year, people tell me that I am doing everything wrong!

Officials Debate Special Powers for Gorbachev

AU2409212890 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Report by Raimund Loew on statements by USSR officials in Moscow on 24 September—recorded; deputies' statements in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Moderator] Today there were again violent discussions in the Supreme Soviet in Moscow on the course the Soviet Union should take to solve its economic problems. President Gorbachev was entrusted with the development of a compromise solution between the radical plans for the introduction of the market economy and Premier Ryzhkov's concept of a planned economy. In addition, Gorbachev was granted special powers that enable him to reorganize almost all fields of economic and social life. Raimund Loew reports from Moscow:

[Loew] Gorbachev's confidant Fyodor Borlavskiy stated:

[Begin Borlavskiy recording] I think that this a completely normal process. We are in a transition period. The situation in the country is critical. The Supreme Soviet is not able to come to the necessary decisions. Many laws simply ignore reality. The government is not functioning. Only the president can create a functioning executive. [end recording]

[Loew] Yegor Ligachev, retired politician and former conservative opponent of Gorbachev, supports the government's economic policy against the president:

[Begin Ligachev recording] In England one would say that the government is more conservative. But the conservatives there are appreciated more than here. [end recording]

[Loew] A young opposition social democrat distrusted Gorbachev and he rejected the full powers. There have already been many decrees of the president that are illegal, he said.

Liberal Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak stated:

[Begin Sobchak recording] The president must be given the opportunity to introduce a real presidential system. There are no longer any vertical power structures in our country. Therefore, the state is disintegrating. The president is at loose ends and the government is paralyzed. Now the taking over of the governmental power by the president is at issue, just like in the United States where the president is also the chief of the executive. [end recording]

Petroleum Refining Minister Released on Pension

LD2409151890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] The USSR president has released Nikolay Vasilyevich from the post of USSR minister of the chemical and petroleum refining industry in connection with his retirement on pension.

CPSU Adopts Commercialized Culture Measure

PM2409161190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the question "On the Increasing Tendency To Commercialize Culture and Measures To Overcome It."

The adopted resolution notes that democratization and glasnost have considerably revitalized society's cultural life. During the years of perestroyka important measures have been adopted to overcome administrative-edict methods of leadership and to decentralize the management of cultural processes, and the rights of Union republics and local soviets have been expanded. In conditions of an acute lack of funds the USSR Council of Ministers has sought out potential for increasing expenditure on cultural needs by 48.9 percent in the current five-year plan, while national income is increasing by 15.7 percent. The new management conditions for institutions and organizations in this sphere are of substantial importance for the development of culture and

envisage combining finance from the centralized state budget with the extensive involvement of funds from enterprises and public organizations and public initiative.

At the same time, as the CPSU Central Committee resolution stresses, there is an increasing tendency in the country's spiritual life to commercialize culture, with all the adverse consequences which that entails for society's moral health. Concern at the mounting threat of the influence of this "culture" on people, above all on children and young people, is expressed in working people's letters to the CPSU Central Committee, in speeches by USSR people's deputies and literary and artistic figures, and in the mass media.

Analysis shows that the main factors in the commercialization of culture are the serious flaws in the activity of ministries and departments to manage cultural processes, the feebleness of the coordination and control mechanism, and the unsatisfactory state of scientific and information backup in this sector of work. There is increasing inequality between the economic and financial activities of state institutions in the cultural sphere and cooperatives and youth and other cultural centers. There are contradictions in a number of laws and normative acts adopted recently. State funding of culture remains inadequate.

The commercialist orientation toward profit is distorting the criteria governing movie and video production, concert and theater activities, book publishing, cultural enlightenment work, and leisure organization.

The introduction of economic accountability in the cinema, as well as having positive aspects, is already revealing negative consequences. This is particularly apparent in the activities of cooperative movie associations, whose products appeal to unwholesome feelings and cultivate brutality and eroticism. The showing of unlicensed videos, for which around 150,000 videocassette recorders are used, has assumed dangerous dimensions. According to the estimates of USSR State Committee for Cinematography experts, video salons make a profit of 6-10 billion rubles per year, and most of it goes into the dealers' pockets, not into the state budget. This is because the USSR Ministry of Culture, the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], and the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee, behind the back of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, sent out a letter containing instructions on the procedure for registering video libraries involved in the commercial showing of videos. At the same time, the USSR State Committee for Cinematography failed to display persistence in elaborating a package of measures to regulate matters connected with the production and showing of videos in the country and also with the observance of copyright statutes.

Commercialization is also affecting the book and magazine trade, encouraging publishers and editorial boards to produce works of poor ideological and artistic quality and sensational content. Similar processes are taking place in concert and theater life. The ersatz culture in music and drama is destroying the aesthetic content of multinational Soviet art. For example, barely half as many concerts by artists of the USSR State Academy Bolshoy Theater, Moscow State Conservatory, and other leading Soviet symphony orchestra performers were arranged under the auspices of the USSR Culture Ministry State Concert Tour Office in 1989 as in 1987. The commercial approach to artistic activities and crafts is ruining folk art.

The quest for high revenue has made the countryside, children, and pensioners "unprofitable" for movie rental, concert organizations, theaters, and other establishments. Before our very eyes, the already culturally impoverished countryside is being deprived even of movie services. Over a three-year period the number of people going to movies in the countryside has dropped by 172.5 million. In 1989 RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] theaters put on 40 percent fewer shows in rural areas than in the previous year, and the number of concerts has dropped by 25 percent since 1985.

The unwarranted increase in the price of books and theater, concert, and movie tickets over the past three years, the introduction by many clubs of payments for attending groups and workshops engaged in artistic activities, the introduction of charges by many libraries for lending highly popular books, and the increase in charges for services in museums are making it increasingly difficult for low-income strata of the population to gain access to art. Cultural services are being curtailed in a number of regions.

The planning of cultural establishments' paid services by local soviet financial organs without regard for their real potential is encouraging a chase for profits. According to USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] calculations, the volume of paid services will increase by 24 percent in 1990 in the country as a whole and by 40.8 percent in the Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. In the past four years the volume of paid services has increased by 36 percent in Moscow Oblast, 49 percent in Tyumen Oblast, and 62 percent in Chelyabinsk Oblast.

Checks have revealed cases where enterprises with their own clubs and other recreation centers have started to rent them out to cooperatives and economically accountable associations. Labor collective councils and trade unions in Voronezh, Kaliningrad, Kemerovo, Saratov, and Orenburg Oblasts have sharply reduced funding for libraries.

Commercialization is having a corrupting effect on some cultural figures. Many performers have joined in the pursuit of massive profits. Glaring examples were revealed during checks of concert activities in Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev, Tashkent, Karaganda, Norilsk, and Kemerovo. The chaotic pay situation in the cultural

sphere is causing an exodus of cadres from state establishments—concert organizations, theaters, circuses, movie studios, clubs, and so on—and is giving rising to excessive pragmatism and cynicism among cultural workers. There has been a marked decline in state social protection for the creative intelligentsia and artistic collectives. Local soviets have been given extensive rights to set rental rates and have an economic interest in abolishing concessions for artists, sculptors, and musical and other groups leasing nonresidential premises for creative work.

Commercialization is making an increasingly powerful assault on our international cultural links as well. On the one hand, this distorts the foreign public's picture of Soviet society's spiritual values and the changes taking place in it, and, on the other hand, it often fills domestic cultural life with examples of foreign art that are not among the best.

In view of the intensification of the adverse ideological, social, and moral consequences of the commercialization of culture and the state's declining role in the cultural sphere, the CPSU Central Committee deems it necessary to use its right of legislative initiative and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet a CPSU Central Committee proposal for the elaboration and adoption of a law "On the Defense of Morality in the USSR" guaranteeing the protection of citizens from works which, by their very nature, could damage people's health and morality, public order, and citizens' rights and legitimate interests. It was also deemed advisable to set up a public and state committee on these matters.

The adopted resolution supports proposals by the USSR Ministry of Culture, USSR State Committee for Cinematography, creative unions, and public organizations aimed at protecting real art, artists, and various groups of the population from the adverse consequences of commercialization.

The CPSU Central Committee considers it advisable for the government to adopt measures to eliminate inequality in the economic potential of state, cooperative, public, and other organizations and centers involved with culture and sport, having in mind a system of taxation, pricing, payment, and royalties. It is proposed that the question of incentives for various types of payments for cultural and sports needs by state and cooperative enterprises be considered; that a study be made of the possibility of excluding all types of cultural activities from the list of planned paid services, giving the cultural establishments themselves the right to decide the nature and volume of services; and that a maximum rental be established for the use of the halls of institutions, educational establishments, political education centers, and so forth for cultural purposes and also for the use of nonresidential premises by artists and artistic collectives.

Special emphasis is placed on the need to devise a system for organizing the showing of videos in the country envisaging a ban on the showing of video movies and video programs which do not have USSR State Committee for Cinematography certificates. The intention is, by analogy with the normative introduced in 1990 for the sale of consumer goods at contract prices, to set maximum prices for movie and video products sold on the movie market.

The CPSU Central Committee believes it would be expedient to regulate the practice of international cultural exchanges and give the USSR Ministry of Culture and Union republican culture ministries and committees the right to establish individual forms and amounts of pay for outstanding exponents of Soviet culture and art in order to gradually bring their pay into line with international criteria for assessing contributions to culture.

Union republican communist party central committees, party kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon committees, and Communists working in soviets, trade union and Komsomol committees, cultural bodies, and creative organizations are instructed to look into specific manifestations of unhealthy commercial trends in the activity of cultural institutions, creative collectives, youth culture centers, and cooperatives and to join local soviets and people's control bodies in adopting measures to neutralize these trends and ensure observance of the established normatives in economic activity in the cultural sphere.

Party papers and journals and Communists working on other periodicals and on radio and television are recommended to organize the discussion of problems arising in connection with the commercialization of society's cultural life and make a principled assessment of instances of damage caused to the ideological and moral and aesthetic values of socialism.

Deputy Sharipov Assesses Union Treaty's Future

LD2409133290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Reports are coming in one by one on the conclusion of treaties between Union republics. Here are just the latest, between Russian and Moldova, Belorussia and Latvia, and Tajikistan and Georgia. Will they accelerate the adoption of a Union treaty? It is difficult to answer this question unequivocally.

Our correspondent, Marina Novitskaya, has invited Yuriy Kamalovich Sharipov, chairman of the Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities on the Social and Economic Development of the Union and Autonomous Republics and people's deputy of the USSR, to the microphone.

[Begin recording] [Novitskaya] Yuriy Kamalovich, I know that you took part in the consultations that have taken place on the future Union treaty and, evidently, this was complex work. Was it, however, crowned with an advance of any kind?

[Sharipov] Twelve Union republics came to us and although the points of view were different, unity did emerge on a majority of issues. This means, above all, that we all similarly want the renewal of the image of our state. We all want to have an all-Union market. There are no different opinions on this. For the most part, all the republics look on the security of our state in the same way.

[Novitskaya] On guaranteeing that security?

[Sharipov] That's right. On guaranteeing the security of our state. And there is unity on a whole series of other matters. I believe that we have managed to lay the initial foundations for the Union treaty since the center did nothing at all in this respect. It provided no documents. If a new treaty is born on the basis of a common economic agreement, I believe it will be the creation, above all, of the republics, of the republics themselves. The document will come into being and will not come down from above but will be sent up from below. That, I think, will be a supreme manifestation of democracy and of the solidarity of all the republics.

[Novitskaya] Yuriy Kamalovich, there has been much agitation and last week there were urgent discussions about the programs of transferring to a market. What do you think? Will the economic union of the republics entailed by the presidential program facilitate movement toward a Union treaty?

[Sharipov] I think that Academician Shatalin's program, that of the government, and the combined program presented by our president examine matters of the republics and the peoples fairly poorly. For this reason, if the Supreme Soviet instructs further work on the program, this section will take into account all the interests of all the peoples inhabiting our country.

As for economic union, we must begin immediately to start concluding agreements between the republics and if it is required (?with the) center. The Russian Federation has submitted the draft of such a document to us. It comes as a draft to be added to the program for transferring to a market economy and is an agreement, an economic agreement, between the republics.

[Novitskaya] As part of the program?

[Sharipov] As part of the program. We shall be examining it this week and I think that there too we will find a common language. [end recording]

Editors Discuss Fate of Solzhenitsyn Fund

PM2209181190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 90 p 1

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "Meeting with Premier"]

[Text] Our regular readers will of course remember that I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, sent a letter to A.I. Solzhenitsyn and received a reply from him with a number of proposals (both letters were published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA) after KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA published 18 September, for the first time in the USSR, a new article by the writer which he had sent to our editorial office.

The publication of his article in his motherland was A.I. Solzhenitsyn's first proposal. It has been implemented. Yesterday the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers met with V.A. Fronin, chief editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA; our newspaper's political observer A.V. Afanasyev; and V.M. Borisov, a member of the NOVYY MIR editorial collegium and A.I. Solzhenitsyn's literary representative in the USSR. The talk discussed in particular the fate of the Russian Social Fund created by A.I. Solzhenitsyn in Switzerland in 1974.

The fund was instituted on the basis of the royalties received for the publication of the "Gulag Archipelago" in many countries of the world. (The book has now been translated into 22 languages). This fund is recognized by Western countries as a "humanitarian organization" with all legal and financial consequences. A.I. Solzhenitsyn's proposal is that the Russian Social Fund be cleared of slander; that its devotees' convictions and criminal records [sledy presledovaniy] be expunged; and that the fund itself be legalized, at least in the RSFSR so that it can operate and render aid absolutely openly.

It was agreed at the meeting to officially register the fund in Russia, discussing in the very near future all possibilities for its use with its founder A.I. Solzhenitsyn. There was also a discussion of the present difficult position of the journal NOVYY MIR and ways of helping it were outlined.

M.N. Poltoranin, RSFSR minister of the press and the mass media, took part in the discussion.

Reasons for the Solzhenitsyn Essay Summarized

90UN2836A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by political observer Aleksandr Afanasyev: "He Never Left Russia"]

[Text] **A.I. Solzhenitsyn has conveyed to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA his new article "How We Should Build Up Russia"**

Cavendish, 14 September 1990

"...right of first publication to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on 18 September and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 19 September"

[Signed] Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

This is not an attempt to somehow comment on A.I. Solzhenitsyn's booklet, published in our country for the first time, or to anticipate impressions. It is rather a

comment on myself. And, to the greatest extent, an announcement and essential piece of information. In order to understand how a new article by the celebrated writer appeared, could have appeared, directly into a Soviet newspaper—without the customary preliminary trial run in samizdat.

First let us recall what is known. I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, addressed to A.I. Solzhenitsyn an open letter, in which he invited the writer to be his guest. On 23 August, Natalya Dmitriyevna Solzhenitsyna presented the writer's statement for the Soviet press. Ye. Ovcharenko, our own correspondent, immediately telephoned this statement to Moscow. It was published, literally, the following day, 24 August.

Now about what was left "out of the picture." On the 24th, many of you read in the writer's response the following lines: "...I have just finished an article: my best impressions (as many are as accessible to me from outside) about the present state of the country and possible and necessary measures, as I understand them. I do not know whether 'there will be sufficient paper' in the USSR for the inexpensive and popular publication of this booklet." Understandably, the last phrase was offensive to professional esteem. It probably was for this reason that more than just myself could have had the very simple idea that it would be hard to imagine a more inexpensive and popular publication than one priced 3 kopeks with a circulation of 22 million, that is, a regular issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.... The same day, the 24th, the idea was supported by I.S. Silayev, and we telephoned Vermont in the United States, offering to publish the article in full in our paper. Natalya Dmitriyevna asked for a few days to think about it. She said that the author would have the final say, of course. But that in her opinion he would be pleased at KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's idea.

A few days later A.I. Solzhenitsyn gave his consent, granting KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA the right of first publication of the article in the Soviet Union. Paper was found for an extra edition—retail sale—by the RSFSR Government. Some time later V.M. Borisov, A.I. Solzhenitsyn's agent in the USSR, and N.A. Struve, director of Imka-Press, the oldest publisher of Russians abroad, brought the booklet to our editorial office. (We had obtained from the writer the right to publish the article in the USSR first—immediately following the opening of the Imka-Press exhibition, on the 18th—LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, after KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, on the 19th; deviating from the date would have been improper in respect of the author.)

We will not dissemble: Taking such a step without knowing the content of the article was not all that easy for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA journalists. But this is what we thought: All that our compatriot intends to say to his fellow citizens, however severe, stringent or controversial, he has a right to say to us directly. In a legal and popular Soviet publication.... If this becomes a reality, there is glasnost in the USSR. If not, there is, consequently, no glasnost.

This was, of course, a test for Soviet glasnost, but, in my opinion, not for it alone. Let us ponder the fact that for the first time since the days of "Ivan Denisovich" a new work by this author is coming to Soviet readers via an official, Soviet channel. It has not been road-tested, not been tried out in advance. It is not shrouded in a romantic, semiclandestine mist. Public opinion, in a word, has not been prepared for it—so it is a test for the writer and a test for the article—how will it be received by the reader?

Certain of the author's thoughts will, most likely, seem to some people unjust, to others, anachronistic even and divorced from reality. However, the author's intonation—yes, I say cutting things also, but do so because I speak as my own man—is utterly disarming. And, of course, the writer is free to say what he thinks; the reader, however, is free to think about what he writes. But what it is not is a frivolous incendiary pamphlet, no. Whether some people like it or not, whether they agree or disagree—it is an important and profound work. It was not suffered through, thought through and written to be flicked through cursorily. It is for a most serious perusal, for reflection with pencil in hand, for the reader's arguments and dialogue with the author—about life, about the future, about ways of solving the fatherland's problems, be they ideological, economic or political problems or interethnic problems; and such a dialogue is, it would seem, really necessary—after all, there is much that is being perceived from near and from far.

So direct an address from the author has been long awaited. Some people were awaiting political support for their position. Some, a devastating manifesto. Some, some kind of appeal.... I personally saw this composed and wisely written article not as a political declaration, but as the considered life's program of a great Russian writer and thinker; there are few appeals here, but there is, on the other hand, plentiful food for thought for our independent explanation of the country's destiny. A destiny—I would like to believe in the wake of the author—which lies not via violence but via national concord and reconciliation.

And the final point. The readers will surely have noticed how in a matter of months a kind of "campaign of honeyed words" under the motto, "Aleksandr Isayevich, come back!" has unfolded in Russia. But read the article closely. Nowhere does A.I. Solzhenitsyn say: "you," "to you," "with you". He says "how we should build up Russia." He repeats: "we," "our people," "our country," "our future".... So what is the point of exhorting: Come back? Did he leave of his own accord? Will he not return—when he sees fit—without our exhortations?

We need to tell ourselves and one another: Come back! And, God willing, we will return to ourselves—our true selves. But he.... He never left—neither himself nor Russia.

We ask whoever would care to respond to our publication to send letters to the editorial office marked "How We Should Build Up Russia". This mail is very important to the author.

All letters will be passed on to A.I. Solzhenitsyn.

So, read pages 3-6.

Market Programs Overlook Autonomous Formations

PM2109135190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

["Snap Interview" with Vladislav Ardzinba, director of the Abkhaz Institute of Language, Literature, and History, by M. Gurtovoy; place and date not given: "Autonomous Formations Still 'Out of the Game'"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] My interlocutor is a doctor of historical sciences, director of the Abkhaz Institute of Language, Literature, and History, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and chairman of the subcommission on the state and legal status of autonomous formations. He is well known as a consistent defender of the rights of the small nations.

[Gurtovoy] First of all, which of the programs for the transition to the market seems to you to correspond most to the interests of your voters?

[Ardzinba] Undoubtedly the one presented by the joint commission led by Academician A. Aganbegyan. I am convinced that the discussion must be conducted on the basis of that program, which, however, does not exclude and even presupposes looking at certain provisions of the other programs connected with measures to protect not only the individual and whole sections of society but also science, specifically the humanitarian sciences, culture, and education.

However, the coordinated program, just like the Shatalin and government programs, has a very substantial omission which immediately struck deputies from all the autonomous formations. And we are more than 120 members of the Supreme Soviet. The authors utterly failed to take into account the new USSR laws which broaden the rights of all autonomous formations.

The Shatalin group program which was adopted by the Russian parliament recognizes the Union republics and the Union as the only full subjects of the state regulation of the economy, whereas the autonomous republics are regarded as local organs of power.

[Gurtovoy] People are saying now that soon every street and apartment is going to declare sovereignty and then it will be virtually impossible to talk seriously about state programs.

[Ardzinba] Well, first of all, the processes taking place in the autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs are centripetal, unlike in the majority of Union republics, which are still dominated by centrifugal processes. The autonomous units want a strong united union secured on a democratic basis by common political and economic interests. Second, let us look at the new laws—"On the Demarcation of Functions Between the USSR and the Subjects of the Federation" and "On the Basic Principles of Economic Relations Between the USSR and Union and Autonomous Republics." It follows from them that the autonomous republics are Soviet socialist states and subjects of the USSR. And certainly "not a house or a street." "In the sphere of economic and sociocultural building on its territory, the autonomous republic has the same rights as the Union republic, apart from those which, by agreement among themselves, are within the remit of a Union republic," the law on the demarcation of powers says. The same principle forms the basis of the law on the basic principles of economic relations. The programs offered to us ignore these most important provisions of the USSR laws.

[Gurtovoy] The creators of the "500-Day" program stress that they are based on present-day realities and that they therefore take the Union republics' sovereignty as a given fact. The situation is changing so quickly that the scientists cannot keep pace.

[Ardzinba] Yes. To date five autonomous republics, namely Abkhazia, Karelia, Komi, North Osetia, and Tataria, have proclaimed their state sovereignty and adopted the relevant declarations. In the very near future declarations will be adopted by other autonomous republics. The question is this: Why do the programs for the transition to the market disregard that? Is it that the rights of the large nations in our country are taken into account whereas those of the small nations are ignored? Or is it that in this most important question, we still adhere to a policy of dual morality?

It seems incontestable to me: All 20 autonomous republics and all 18 autonomous oblasts and okrugs must be recognized as equal subjects of the state regulation of the economy and given equal rights with regard to the USSR.

The creators of the "500-Day" program have said: "We are defining the rules of the game while each Union republic chooses its own tactics." Using the same sports jargon, the autonomous formations do not want to be left "out of the game."

Members of Autonomous Areas Meet in Moscow

LD2209200190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Representatives of the autonomous formations of the USSR gathered together today at 27 Kalinin Prospekt in Moscow, where sittings of the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet usually take place.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent M. Polikarpova] There are over 1,000 people in the hall, represented 34 autonomous formations in the country. Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet are also present. The main questions on the agenda are the Union treaty and the prospects for the national state structure of the USSR. It was not hard to surmise that the discussion would proceed in a lively and emotional atmosphere; far too many problems have accumulated, and the contradictions between peoples have been exacerbated. These have of course always actually existed and will continue to do so, but it is important that they should not be antagonistic. In speeches at the rostrum and from the floor, those taking part in the meeting expressed opinions on how they see the Union, who should draw up the Union Treaty, and how to get out of the economic crisis. There was also criticism of Academician Shatalin's program, in which the autonomous formations are in essence excluded from the processes of regulating the economy; the role of the Union is thereby weakened. There were diverse positions and diverse opinions. The main thing is that the meeting took place. We asked Georgiy Stanislavovich Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission on Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations of the Soviet of Nationalities, to comment on this.

[Tarazevich] It is evident from the report and from the speeches we have already heard that the representatives of autonomous formations are for the Union, for keeping the Union, for a Union state. They see the Union state as the guarantee of the free and equal development of all peoples. The interests and forces represented by the autonomous formations, small peoples, will today exert a considerable influence on the important events connected with the conclusion of a Union treaty and with the transition to a market economy. [end recording]

Official Examines Rising Crime Rate in Moscow

PM2409103990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Morals and Crime. News Conference at Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration"]

[Text] Moscow—A news conference held at the Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] GUVD [Internal Affairs Main Administration] 19 September was devoted to the fight against organized crime.

Familiarization with the problem began with statistics. More than 27,000 crimes were committed in Moscow in the space of eight months—7.2 percent more than during the same period last year. The criminal groups which have been formed are continuing to influence the situation of rising crime in the city.

Militia Lieutenant Colonel V. Rushaylo, deputy chief of the department to combat organized crime, pointed out that the results of an investigation into the members of a number of such associations attest that a struggle for spheres of influence is continuing among them, sometimes involving the use of weapons. Groups are becoming increasingly organized, have a high level of material and technical equipment, and are quite well armed.

The Moscow militia has inflicted a substantial blow against the authority and the leaders of a number of the most influential groupings—the "Solntsevo," "Lyubertsy," and "Chechen Commune." During the first half of the year alone almost 80 criminal groups were eliminated. They had committed 127 crimes: larceny of state and personal property, thefts, rapes, violent attacks, and extortion.

Addressing journalists, Major General A. Bugayev, deputy chief of the GUVD, emphasized that the criminal element is now merging with the cooperative movement, and members of criminal groupings are penetrating the sphere of the shadow economy. It is also a disturbing fact that "Soviet mafiosi" are emerging increasingly boldly into the international arena. This is evidenced by the materials of criminal cases concerning the "Triangle," "Fund," and "Rainbow" cooperatives and the "Osmosis" MGTSI [expansion unknown]. Taking advantage of the weakness of departmental, financial, and bank control, criminals embezzled 20 million rubles on the pretext of "computerizing" the city.

In the general's opinion, not only the fact that there is no proper legislative base and that investigators are overworked but also the general decline in morals affect the shortcomings of the fight against organized crime. It is precisely the decline in morals—as it is now fashionable to say—that leads those who are out to make a fast buck to get involved in crime.

Kazakhstan Decides To Close Beryllium Plant

PM2209132990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Valeriy Mirolevich: "Closing Beryllium Production"]

[Text] Ust-Kamenogorsk—That is the decision taken by the East Kazakhstan Oblast Soviet Presidium.

The first data have come in from the samples taken from people who had complaints after the accident at the Ulba metallurgical plant. By the morning of 19 September an increased beryllium content had been discovered in 32 people. Of these six were children.

Constant medical monitoring of the participants in the elimination of the accident and the workers at nearby enterprises is being conducted.

The problem of cleaning the city remains acute. There is a shortage of hosing and cleansing machinery—there is no help from outside. The emergency commission's appeal to those responsible for the accident requesting that they demand additional technical facilities from the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry has given rise to

an unexpected and I would say astounding reaction: "But what have we got to do with it. Even before the accident the city had to be cleaned—it's no use resolving common problems at our expense..." I shall not name the leader who wrote this statement, merely out of consideration for his personal safety.

The city has emerged from panic-stricken shock—never before have people put questions of personal safety so sharply and categorically. Strike committees have been organized at many enterprises and a city-wide meeting has been scheduled. An extraordinary session of the city soviet of people's deputies is being convened. Of course, it is not only a case of the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry establishment but also of other polluters. Ust-Kamenogorsk is one of a few cities in the Union where everything is so pervaded by the waste from enterprises of nonferrous metallurgy and the nuclear power industry that even the leaves that have fallen from the trees do not rot.

The oblast soviet of people's deputies, after a thorough discussion of the situation, has adopted a resolution on closing the beryllium production facility at the "Ulba Metallurgical Plant" Association and the "Keramika" plant (it is also inside the city limits). The Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry has been asked to elaborate measures to convert the production facilities. By this same resolution East Kazakhstan Oblast has been declared an ecological disaster zone.

Kazakh News Agency Registered With TASS

LD2109172690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] The all-Union independent news agency DANA-PRESS has been registered with TASS. The new collective of journalists, which has its headquarters in Alma-Ata, will gather news in Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia for distribution to newspapers, television and radio. In translation from Kazakh, dana means knowing, wise: The reporters will apply this to their news policy.

According to the Law on the Press, TASS will also register other news agencies.

Experimental 'Community' Video Channel Premiered

LD2209162390 Moscow GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA in Russian 24 Sep 90 Number 39 p 17

[Text] "Community" video channel Moscow Television Second Channel, 1100-1900 [0700-1500 GMT] Saturday 29 September:

In working out the new structure for broadcasting, the "Community" creative association is presenting for you an experimental channel. It will occupy eight hours of air time. Here is what Igor Arbuzov, deputy chief editor of the Chief Editorial Office of programs for the RSFSR, has to say about it:

I think that not everyone is in a position to spend eight hours in front of the television screen indiscriminately. And I would like first of all to give you some reference marks. The four blocks of the program (each two hours long) will be separated by news bulletins. They will combine news of the day and report of the week. You will learn about the most important events; it is proposed that correspondents working in various regions of the country will tell you about them. In particular, a telebridge will link the Ostankino Studio with Minsk.

The first part of the bulletin will be informative and publicizing in character. Then, after a musical interlude, a telebridge will link the regions of the Baltic, the Ukraine, and Central Asia. We would like to give this (second) part of the program (starting at 1300) the provisional title of "What is the New Union Treaty To Be Like?"

The third part of the program, starting at 1500, will have a live on-the-air meeting between two cities—Moscow and Alma-Ata. It will focus on an area of particular attention: the countryside and its autumn concerns. We know that this year tractors, combines, and trucks remained idle on many farms as a result of shortages of fuel, lubricants, spare parts, and reapers. There were difficulties with transport. However, "Bread Grain Must Be Saved, But How?" What must be done in order to avoid losses in future? This part of the program will be conducted by A.A. Maslennikov, head of the press service of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It includes a film "Leaseholder" from the Amur Television Studio (about the peasant G. Aksenov from the village of Ovsyanka).

The final two hours (1700-1900) is devoted to questions of history, culture, and morality. In particular, we will be talking about the secrets of the so-called Bolshevskiy House, where Marina Tsvetayeva spent some months after her emigration.

In order to attract people of all ages to the screen we are preparing a musical section in the retrospective style.

And finally, the chief personnage—the Man of the Month. We propose that this will be a major political figure. You will meet him at the start of the broadcast, then at the end he will reply to your questions (you will have the opportunity to ask them by direct telephone line; we will give you the number).

So that you do not find the program tiring (after all it is Saturday), we intend to include musical video clips, humoresques, and a short feature film.

Our correspondents in the localities and television journalists in the Union and autonomous republics will take part in the broadcast.

Printing Ink Shortages May Halt Publications

LD2109173290 Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] According to the head of PRAVDA publishers, Vyacheslav Leontyev, the Soviet Union's printing

industry may come to a standstill within the next two or three weeks. He said in a televized interview that the shortage of hard currency for the imported components of printers inks might cause domestic ink- producing factories to halt the production process. Color publications will be the first to disappear from the stalls, to be followed by black and white periodicals.

Threaten 'Information Famine'

PM2309173590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by N. Nikolayev under the "Alarm!" rubric: "Ink of Shame"]

[Text] Many subscribers probably do not suspect that in two or three weeks their mailboxes could be empty. There is a threat that periodicals will have to stop publishing—an information famine is going to follow the empty store shelves.

We have discussed the disruption caused to PRAVDA production by the paper shortage many times. This time the shortage will affect all publications: There is no ink. The two plants that produce it—the Torzhok and Moscow plants—are being closed down because of a lack of pigments, dyes, and certain other kinds of raw material bought abroad. Supplies of these materials have been curtailed owing to our country's unpaid bills.

"The problem did not emerge overnight," V. Leontyev, director of the PRAVDA Publishing House, said. "A few months ago we appealed to the government and warned them about the approaching shortage, but no measures were taken. We've been receiving telegrams from the plants asking us to pay them hundreds of thousands of foreign-currency rubles so that they can buy the ink. But where will we get that kind of money?"

Let us explain: It is all a question of a mere 3 million foreign-currency rubles just for the next five months—which is by no means a significant sum for the government. N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and his deputy V.K. Gusev have long known about this situation, but virtually nothing has been done to improve the position. We realize that the government has plenty to worry about, but is the shutdown of newspapers and journals such a trivial matter for the country with the most avid readers in the world?

The forecast is that colored publications will have to shut down first, followed by black-and-white publications... Despite the development of glasnost the people are being deprived of information. It will be hard to bring people back to consciousness after this shock. We would add that the State Committee for the Press has repeatedly sent alarming memos to the USSR Council of Ministers, which in turn issued appropriate instructions—but they have all disappeared without trace. So is there nobody to blame? Does nobody feel ashamed on behalf of millions of readers?

Economic

Energy Minister Discusses Coal, Nuclear Supplies

AU2109133990 Vienna KURIER in German 21 Sep 90 p 3

[Report by Susanne Lintl: "We Have to Rely on Nuclear Energy and Coal"]

[Text] "At the moment there are two possibilities for us to produce energy: either from nuclear power plants or from power plants that use coal. Apart from that, there are no serious alternatives." Vitaliy Konovalov, Soviet minister of atomic power engineering and industry, who is in Vienna this week on the occasion of the annual meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), paints a depressing picture of energy supplies in his country. "There are regions in our country where the people see only gray or even black snow in winter because the coal power plants pollute the environment so much. In these areas there is a 100 percent support for nuclear energy."

Electricity from nuclear power plants has a future in the Soviet Union, even after Chernobyl: "It is the cleanest energy and the energy that is most compatible with the environment," the minister says. Moscow has already assessed the results of the reactor accident which will leave traces of (cancer) suffering in this and coming generations. Konovalov insists: "The worst effects of Chernobyl are over. I think that now there will not be any more bad consequences."

Does the Gulf crisis not offer the USSR the opportunity of relying a bit more on oil again? "Our oil production is decreasing slightly. Some oil fields are exhausted, others are extremely difficult to access. In addition, oil production is very capital intensive." It involves money which the Soviets do not have, nor do they have the necessary technical equipment.

Novosibirsk Plant To Make Satellite TV Systems

PM2409144190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Report by V. Tyabotin and A. Tselitskiy from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Conversion and consumer goods. A report from Novosibirsk.

[Correspondent] In Novosibirsk Oblast, where conversion affects 15 enterprises, the scale of conversion is almost three times that of the country as a whole. But the pace of conversion is more disappointing than gratifying. This is because producing bikes instead of planes, for instance, is a loss-maker both for the state and for a collective that employs top-class specialists. Preparing for market relations, people at the Novosibirsk Electronics Plant decided not to change their former area of expertise and assimilated production of satellite television systems. Using these systems, any home can directly

receive broadcasts from the United States, Britain, France, and other countries.

[Medvedko, not further identified] These articles are in great demand worldwide. I think they will be in great demand in our country too. And, in this sense, it is a preparation for the market which awaits both you and me. We think that these products will be profitable for us, although there are quite a lot of problems in this area, of course. Both the plant's scientific department and the entire production side are involved in the work.

[Correspondent] Even in the glasnost era, the enterprise still has many secrets. Admittedly, commercial secrets now rather than military secrets. Both the Novosibirsk plant and its partner—the "Pamyat Revolyutsii 1905" Plant in Moscow—already have plenty of competitors in Krasnoyarsk, Tomsk, Vitebsk, and Leningrad. For the customer—that is, you and me—this is good news. The greater the competition, the better the product, and the lower the price. So it is time to gain a better knowledge of English, French, and Japanese. Satellite television is coming to our apartments. Other plants in Novosibirsk are preparing to produce such complex domestic appliances as vacuum cleaners, washing machines, food mixers, and microwave ovens. Defense complex enterprises are looking for ways to reach the consumer.

Senchagov Calls for Stricter Price Controls

904A0605A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 18 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by V. Senchagov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices: "Prices Are Not in Control"—passages in boldface appear in boxes in original item]

[Text] Our legislators are still arguing about what paths to take to the market, and whether to "free" all prices or only a part of them, but at the same time many enterprises, cooperatives, and stores are arbitrarily increasing prices and rates, not even thinking that they are thereby crudely disrupting the procedure that is adopted in the country. Of course, there is no easier way to increase the effectiveness of economic management, while not lifting a finger to search for reserves or new technologies, than to shift all burdens onto the shoulders of the workers without any twinge of conscience.

The press has already reported on the illegal increase in prices for mass consumption goods carried out by authorities in Estonia, Lithuania, Moscow, Leningrad, and Tver. The USSR State Committee on Prices sent a letter to the Councils of Ministers of Lithuania, Estonia, the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee, and the Tver City Executive Committee about the illegality of the decisions they had made, asking that they be annulled. However, the organs of authority of the republics and the cities have not annulled them to date. So this is how economic sovereignty has turned out and what blessings it has brought to the people.

There was new information recently that the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Moldova has raised state retail prices for cognac and wine, and tobacco products.

For example, cognac was increased from 23.80 rubles [R] to R35; "Belyy Aist" cognac was increased from R15.80 to R25; champagne, from R5.50 to R12; "Utrennyaya Rosa" wine, from R3.40 to R4.50.

Estonia is preparing multiple increases in state retail prices for meat and milk products. I will note that the decision to change retail prices for the aforementioned commodities falls under the jurisdiction of the government of the USSR.

It goes without saying that the uncoordinated actions of the republic and local authorities contradicts the unity of the price policy in the country, destabilizes money circulation, disturbs the equivalency of exchanges between republics and regions, and obstructs the formation of a single all-Union market. Especially intolerable are facts of illegal price increases by monopolistic enterprises that dictate their sales prices to consumers.

For example, with a listed wholesale price for a tractor of the "Kirovets" type on the order of R23,000, the Production Association "Kirovskiy Zavod," without extending any extra effort, sold the rural economy 139 of these tractors at a price of R34,000-R42,000. The difference resulting from the increase in prices amounts to R2.26 million, and, by a decision of the USSR State Committee on Prices, a fine in the very same amount was extracted and placed into the budget.

The Tulunskiy hydrolysis plant of the production association "Irkutskbioprom," one of the principal suppliers of hydrolytic alcohol, on 1 September of this year increased the price for its product from R5.90 to R9.50 per unit. And there was a chain reaction: A sharp increase in the cost of the product to the consumer followed, including that produced according to the state order. Facts like this, unfortunately, are not a rarity. It is difficult to imagine that the managers of these enterprises were not aware that such an illegal increase in prices would backfire against them in the form of more expensive materials and product parts.

The arbitrary increase in prices by enterprises that produce consumer goods is resulting in many complaints. Thus, without the approval of the artistic council, the Andizhan cotton association of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] marked type 23 printed cotton with "Mars" trim with the index "N." But the type 32 printed cotton with "Mars" trim was sold with an arbitrary markup of 20 percent instead of the standard 10 percent. As a result, buyers overpaid R163,600. The Cherkassy chemical production association of the Kabardino-Balkarskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic sold enamel (paints) according to contracted retail prices instead of the listed prices, and received R500,000 in illegal profit.

As a result of a check on enterprises of the Ukrainian SSR concerning the conformity of high-quality output to a model sample, product 151 stamped with the index "N" and "D" was taken from production, and the additional gain on the order of R540,000 was confiscated and deposited into the budget.

A massive study was conducted on the applicability of establishing and applying prices and tariffs in the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building, the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, and the Ministry of Civil Aviation. And everywhere cases of price discipline violations were found.

Cooperatives are also permitting serious departures from regulations. The inspection organs of the USSR State Committee on Prices carried out checks on 8,156 cooperatives, and found violations in the procedures for the application of prices in 2,231 of them. The illegal profit that they acquired was on the order of R7.4 million, which was deposited into the budget.

For example, in Naberezhnyye Chelny alone, of 13 trade-purchase cooperatives 11 were found to have increased prices for commodities sold in the sum of R133,600. Of this, R48,700 were transferred to the budget, and the matter of R84,900 was submitted for arbitration. All told for the first half of this year, R185 million of illegally acquired profits in connection with the violation of discipline was confiscated and deposited to budget income, as compared with R196 million confiscated for all of 1989.

In countries with a developed market economy, laws adopted by the organs of authority and directed against monopolistic prices are enforced. At the same time, harsh economic and administrative sanctions are applied to firms and companies that violate these laws, right up to criminal prosecution. For example, in Sweden it has been established that collusion by groups of producers and traders who decide to raise and not lower prices, and any participants in such collusion, can be criminally charged and imprisoned for a period of up to two years. Therefore, there can be no agreement with the proposal to cancel administrative verification of prices. Rejecting this could lead to an orgy of prices, with unpredictable consequences.

The USSR State Committee on Prices believes that, on the threshold of a market, the state's verification of adherence to price discipline in the country must absolutely be preserved. And even strengthened.

Nationwide Market Proposed To End Meat Shortages

904D0235A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by V. Gavrichkin under the rubric "On the Day's Themes": "There Will Be More Meat: But Only a Nationwide Unified Market Will Save Us From Empty Shelves"]

[Text] Many probably felt the approach of a new danger that was, one might say, practically upon us. It was a question of meat. Just a bit more procrastination and we could well have been deprived of even that scanty ration of meat and sausages that we have. For example, in some places only a five-day supply of meat remained in the refrigerators supplying the stores of Moscow. And that was in the capital. In many other places, even with our "truncated" norm, supplies were smaller yet. And receipts for meat had abruptly decreased.

So as not to harp upon an unpleasant theme, I will say at this point that fortunately the Russian Government has managed to forestall the critical situation for the present.

Analyzing the reasons for this latest danger threatening us, one understands that it was provoked by a surprisingly unwise decision—in making this decision, no one bothered to predict its consequences even for the coming months. Properly speaking, it was the same, or almost the same, with the regrettably famous antialcohol campaign, which finally caused a shortage of sugar from which we still have not recovered; and it was the same with the memorable "laundry soap" shortage and the tobacco and bread shortages. In the final analysis each of these crises was not the result of a natural cataclysm, but of an arbitrary command element in the economy. The meat situation was just one more demonstration of this.

Not long ago the Union government adopted a decree on the introduction,to begin on 1 January, of new increased prices on transportation, fuel, mixed fodder, tax rates, etc. Because of all this, Russian agriculture alone will suffer an annual loss calculated at R31 billion. In order to compensate for such an enormous loss (and I stress: compensate, without bringing the peasant a kopek of additional gain), a corresponding rise in state purchase prices for meat was envisioned as of the new year.

It seemed that everything was being done logically. But it was precisely this logic that concealed an insidious bureaucratic hitch. Previously, when command was considered the norm in our economic life, it was easy to hand out instructions. But now that we have awakened a taste for economics, we must take it into account. Tell me: Was some farmer, knowing that in three or four months he would get at least 1.5 times more for his meat, going to hurry down to the meat combine with his bull calf? Especially when there was enough wheat and other fodder (as is the case now)?

The collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes] began to hold back their livestock. And we

are not just talking about the farmers of scattered establishments: Our correspondents from various regions of the country were reporting that the population had practically ceased to sell even livestock raised on personal subsidiary farms—and because of the lack of raw materials, many processing enterprises of consumers' cooperatives were "idling."

In front of me is a report of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] for 1 September. In comparison with last year, taking into consideration all types of deliveries, the republic's purchase of livestock and poultry is down 84,000 tonnes. In August alone, purchases were down by 29,000 tonnes!

To what has already been said, I should add that the volume of sales of livestock and poultry to the state has decreased in 42 krays, oblasts, and the autonomous republic of Russia alone, and no one, as a session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet noted a few days ago, has fulfilled the obligations in regard to contracted deliveries. A number of the country's large industrial centers have found themselves in a difficult situation.

The issue of delivery discipline is a special issue, and it should be looked at separately. But was it really impossible to foresee that the substantial increase in the purchase prices for meat, declared as of 1 January, would inevitably give rise to the process of "withholding" livestock in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and to a meat crisis? Of course, everyone knew about it! say the specialists of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission on Food Goods and Purchases. Back when they were preparing the government's decree on an increase in prices for grain, there were proposals to include a paragraph on raising purchase prices for meat, as of 1 September, let us say, and not as of the new year. But the proposals were not heeded.

And this is the tragedy. We know, we see the line that we will eventually reach, but it turns out that it is impossible to take care of our own people and to leave in peace those who are already worn out with endless shortages. Is it impossible, or there is no desire?

The lack of foresight, irresponsibility, and sometimes simple incompetence of the organs of power at the most varied levels ended by putting the Moscow Soviet, for example, as well as many other democratically elected soviets, on the line for the severe tobacco and bread crises. And now they have to pay the price for something that in large part was not their fault—this needs to be stated directly.

And now the Russian government has also been compelled to use extreme measures to quell the beginning of a crisis that was not of its making. I have just been told that **the new purchase prices for all types of meat are being introduced in the republic as of 15 September**. Of course it will be at the expense of the Russian budget.

From the experience of past years, I know that September is the "meat" month: Deliveries of livestock increase abruptly in comparison with July and August. And now there is reason to expect a good increase this September, too. I will not speak of the other republics, but it seems that at least Russia will avoid a meat crisis.

The Russian government also has taken serious steps to normalize state purchases of vegetables and potatoes and to soften the so-called second wave of the sugar shortage. G. Kulik, RSFSR minister of agriculture and foodstuffs, said to me that a telegram has already gone out to local areas informing them that a number of rulings have been adopted in addition to that concerning the prices for meat. In particular, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are supposed to hand out a payment in kind to all who are currently involved with the harvest comprising up to 50 percent of the gathered output. Previously existing limitations on contract prices for fruit and vegetable products have been removed—the right to establish "ceilings" on these prices has been given to the local organs of power. To hasten the first sales of sugar from the raw materials of the new harvest, purchase prices have been raised by 30 percent on sugar beets turned over for processing before 20 September. In addition, the local powers have the right to sell half of the "early" sugar to the population in the territories under their jurisdiction....

However, the status of an independent Russia, like that of the other republics, raises the urgent problem of cooperation and of a coordinated policy within the bounds of a new Union treaty and an integrated all-Union market. It was enough for little Estonia to take it into its head to abruptly raise the price of agricultural products for great Russia to be severely affected, particularly Leningrad. But partners under conditions of a market economy are communicating vessels: Should one of the partners unilaterally make a decision that is profitable only for itself, the infringement upon the rights of the other may return tomorrow like a boomerang. A unified market for the country is unthinkable without a unified economic policy, which also includes a policy from the center.

Various Causes Attributed to Meat Shortages

904D0235B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by S. Chugayev under the rubric "On the Day's Themes": "Where Has the Meat Gone?"]

[Text] The meat shortage developed in the following manner. There are 1,274 stores selling meat in Moscow. On 22 June, 35 of them had nothing to sell. A month later, 65 were out of meat. On 24 August, 272 stores were out of meat, and today, 730 have stopped sales. In addition, 750 have quit selling sausage.

And now rumors are circulating that there is only a three-day supply of all meat products in Moscow's refrigerators. It must be said that in this case the rumors

are not far from the mark. O. Rozanov, chief engineer of the Moscow department of the Russian Republic association of meat and milk sales [Rosmyasomoltorg], told me that on 10 September there were 12,000 tonnes of meat at nine of Moscow's refrigeration plants. A five-day supply. Last year at this same time there was twice as much meat, and the Moscow refrigeration plants can hold a total of 150,000 tonnes of meat products.

The reason for the scarcity of stores lies in the breakdown in deliveries (see IZVESTIYA No. 258, "There Will Be More Meat"). Over the last eight months Moscow did not receive 71,500 tonnes of the meat it was promised. The capital's debtors include the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], Belorussia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, and Kazakhstan. And, characteristically, it seems that they are not prepared to make up their debts. But, according to O. Rozanov, despite the breakdown in deliveries the refrigeration plants are shipping the promised amount of meat—2,000 tonnes—to Moscow stores every day according to plan. As they did when deliveries were still functioning according to plan. Yes, reserves have dried up, but the city has received and is receiving its meat as it should.

So, we are presented with the latest shortage riddle: Meat is not going into the city, but the plans for the sale of meat are being fulfilled. And while the plans for sales are being fulfilled, more than half the stores have nothing to sell.

The data of A. Kozlov, chief of the Directorate of Trade in Foodstuffs of the USSR Ministry of Trade, and V. Filippov, chief of the Department of Trade in Meat Products in that same ministry, shed some light on this issue.

Moscow does not receive its meat directly from the republics and the supplying regions, but rather via an all-Union fund that feeds other regions as well—the so-called subsidized republics and the Armed Forces. Thanks to that fact, the USSR Ministry of Trade has some room to maneuver. And, as A. Kozlov and V. Filippov assured me, whatever happens, Moscow is receiving all its quotas as it should.

So, the first part of the riddle has been solved. However, we still have to find an answer to the second and, I believe, main part—why is this same meat missing from the stores?

Of course, when talking about the reasons for the shortage, the leaders of the Union Ministry of Trade did not fail to make use of the currently fashionable phrase "panic buying." However, they placed the main blame for the shortage of meat and sausages on something else. According to them, the Moscow Soviet made a big mistake by adopting the famous ruling concerning the transfer of 100,000 tonnes of meat from its own stocks to the contiguous oblasts. The hope that the residents of these oblasts would stop travelling to Moscow "for sausage" were not realized. And the sale of products according to internal passports and identity cards has not provided the capital with effective protection for its market.

The situation is further affected by the fact that during the first six months the residents of Moscow and guests to the capital ate 19,000 tonnes of meat from the supplies for the second six months. And the USSR Ministry of Trade will not be replacing them. Thus, all the plans are being fulfilled, but the capital can expect difficult times....

Can it be that such a fair and completely disinterested decision by the city soviet is turning into such a mess for the residents of Moscow?

A meeting at the Moscow city territorial production trade association [Mosgortorg] with R. Kamanina, chief of the Directorate of Trade in Foodstuffs, and V. Zhilinskiy, deputy general director of the association, immediately showed this unfortunate supposition to be correct. Yes, Moscow gave away 100,000 tonnes. Yes, while trying to end the increasing panic buying, 19,000 tonnes were borrowed from the six-month stock for trade in the capital. And, as a result, the capital now sells 3,300 tonnes of meat products per day, rather than the 4,500 tonnes it used to sell.

But the hopes of the Moscow Soviet that the neighboring oblasts, having received those same 100,000 tonnes of meat would quit travelling to the capital for sausage, turned out to be genuinely in vain. They are coming just as they used to come. Because these oblasts still have not received the promised meat.

Having learned about the decision of the Moscow Soviet, the Union Ministry of Trade—the distributor of the all-Union fund—quickly cut these ill-fated 100,000 tonnes from the capital's stocks. Moscow began to receive less meat. And only 40 million contracted jars of meat conserves, equivalent to 20,000 tonnes of meat, have been delivered to the neighboring oblasts so far. The remaining 80,000 tonnes have vanished without a trace. And so there is nothing for the residents of Kaluga, Yaroslavl, Tula, and the other neighbors of Moscow to do but shoulder their rucksacks, pick up their handbags, and head for the capital.

Does Moscow expect a meat crisis? V. Zhilinskiy is fairly optimistic on that count. It is presumed that as soon as the new purchase prices for meat go into effect in the RSFSR, deliveries to the republic will increase. It will be possible to borrow from next year's stocks and, in addition, there is a hope that the oblasts will somehow receive the meat promised them and the stream of visitors will decrease. A few days ago an agreement was concluded with the GDR for the sale of 200,000 tonnes of meat. The capital will receive a portion of it. According to the deputy general director of the Mosgortorg, the introduction of trade in foodstuffs in Moscow starting 1 October in accordance with identity cards and the introduction of norms on distribution of goods will

ensure protection of the market and there will not be a need to introduce coupons for meat as well.

There is nothing for us to do but look to the future with optimism, although of course it is hard to do that against a background of closed meat stores and departments. There is only one consolation—besides being victims of tobacco, bread, meat, and other crises, we are witnesses to the death throes of the distributive system.

Agricultural

Cold, Rainy Weather Hinders Harvest Efforts

904B0307A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by N. Osychkin under the rubric "Commentary on the USSR Goskomstat Report": "Autumn is Fast Approaching, Farm Workers!"]

[Text] The present September, unlike many, has turned out to be especially intractable for the farm workers. There have only been a couple days of "Indian summer," and the rest brought dreary rains and cold which have slowed down the harvest and hindered preparations for next year's crops. Right now each farm manager, agriculturist, and worker from the countryside or the city must demonstrate special ability and effort despite the bad weather in order to gather and store everything that has been grown on the fields, to replenish the food stores of the state, and to make his own genuine contribution to perestroyka.

What do the data of the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] say about the course of work in the fields this autumn? By 17 September 78.2 million hectares of grain and crops (excluding corn) had been threshed on kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhozes [state farms], and other agricultural enterprises. This is 78 percent of the area under cultivation, but it is 18.7 million hectares less than what was harvested by this date last year. There were 23.7 quintals threshed from each hectare in the country; in the Ukraine the corresponding figure is 37, in Moldova—36.6, in Lithuania—34.3, in Belorussia—32.1, and in Estonia—30.4.

Rainy weather in many areas is having a negative effect on work in the fields. Nonetheless, over the last week 9.3 million hectares of grain crops were harvested—2.1 million more than during the preceding week. This is understandable. For the most part the harvest was underway in the eastern regions of the country, where the weather generally favored the grain growers. The harvest of grains on the farms of Kokchetav and North Kazakhstan Oblasts took place at a good pace. In those oblasts 28 percent of the crops were harvested over the week; in Aktyubinsk—27 percent, and 19 percent in Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, and Tomsk Oblasts. They made good use of time at the farms of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Kostroma Oblast, where they threshed one-fifth of the crops over the week.

In the meantime, the pace of harvesting grain continues to be slow as previously in Vologda, Novgorod, Pskov, Tver, Smolensk, Yaroslavl, Penza, Kurgan, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Irkutsk, and Chita Oblasts. Only 15.4 quintals of grain per hectare were gathered from the area harvested over the week. Many managers of farms, specialists, agricultural organs, and party organizations were unable to mobilize the collectives to surmount the difficulties, and they are reconciling themselves to shortages and not adapting the equipment to the difficult conditions of the work.

In all, 185.3 million tonnes of grain have been threshed throughout the country, which is 7 million tonnes more than for the corresponding period last year. In this manner, that important boundary which inspires hope for further increases in the total harvest of grain was exceeded for the first time last week. With regard to the return of loans, 51.7 million tonnes of grain have gone into state reserves, which is 60 percent of the state order and almost a million tonnes more than for this date in 1989.

Over the past week 3 million tonnes of grain reached the grain reception stations, which is 0.6 million tonnes more than for the previous week. Nonetheless, the pace for state grain purchases remains low. The farms of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], Kirghiz SSR, Tajik SSR, and Armenian SSR have practically stopped selling grain to the state. The farms of Vladimir, Tver, Kostroma, Smolensk, Yaroslavl, Penza, Ulyanovsk, Ryazan, Kokchetav, Kustanay, and Tselinograd Oblasts and the Bashkir, Tatar, and North Osetian Autonomous Republics are selling grain to the state at less than existing capacity.

Deliveries of various seeds of grain crops to state stores is going extremely slowly. On the whole, the plan for deliveries of seeds has only been 40 percent fulfilled for the country.

The matter of dispatching grain from the elevators has improved somewhat. The plan has been fulfilled 109 percent over 17 days. At the same time, the supply of wagons from the Odessa, Southern, Dnepr, North Caucasus, and Volga Railroads is unpredictable. This has led to breakdowns in dispatches from grain-producing enterprises in Nikolayev, Poltava, Kharkov, Zaporozhye, Rostov, Volgograd, and Orenburg Oblasts and Stavropol Kray.

At this time in the autumn it is necessary to conduct all field-related work in synchronization. A break in one link may lead to harvest losses. There were 11.7 million hectares of corn gathered, which is 59 percent of the sown area, and 394,000 hectares of vegetables, which is 39 percent of the crops. The pace of the potato harvest is extremely slow—721,000 hectares have been dug up, a third of the sown area. Because of waterlogged soil and the inability to use potato combines, the harvest of tubers in the majority of the basic zones for cultivating

potatoes, especially in Belorussia and the non-Chernozem zone of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], must be conducted by hand. The farms are awaiting good helpers from the cities and workers' settlements under the most profitable conditions. Saving the potatoes and vegetables means more fully meeting the demands of the population for food goods during the upcoming winter!

There have been 487,000 hectares of flax picked—64 percent of the sown area. The harvest of fiber flax has run into especially difficult circumstances in Belorussia and the RSFSR, where 69 and 47 percent of the flax has been picked respectively.

The southerners are hurrying with the harvest. There were 1.009 million tonnes of cotton laid in—13 percent of the plan and 464,000 tonnes more than for this date last year.

The foundation for next year's harvest is being laid. There have been 19.4 million hectares of winter wheat crops sown on the country's farms. But that is 6.3 million hectares less than by the middle of September last year. There have been 24 million hectares of fall plowing performed compared to 43.7 million last year. Autumn hurries the farm worker. All efforts are going toward completing the harvest quickly and with high quality, and toward preparing the fields for next year's crops!

Shatalin Plan May 'Aggravate' Food Situation

904B0306A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Professor A. Shutkov, doctor of economic sciences: "The Agro-Industrial Complex on the Road to the Market—Program for Sufficiency or Crisis?"]

[Text] Moscow—**The press has published the basic provisions of the program for the transition to market relations devised by the group under the leadership of Academician S.S. Shatalin. In our opinion this document has many substantial shortcomings which may aggravate the food situation in the country and lead to a further worsening of crisis manifestations.**

I am not preparing to analyze the entire program. I will only concern myself with sections relating to the development of the agro-industrial complex. One gets the impression that for the most part there were no specialists competent in the realm of agro-industrial production in the group which worked on the draft bill. This pertains especially to the section of the program entitled "Land Reform and Agricultural Policy."

For the most part, the authors of the concept consider the main agricultural tasks of the transitional period to be conducting land reform and eliminating existing administrative structures. However, in order to move to a market economy we do not just need to conduct land reform and eliminate the existing system of administration, but also to resolve such fundamental problems as the definition of a pricing mechanism for output from agriculture and from the agro-industrial complex's means of production, especially from equipment delivered to the countryside, to improve the system of financing, taxation, and insurance, to determine measures for accelerating scientific and technical progress, especially in the field of mastering new technologies, and much else directed at creating new things and not just at destroying the old. Without a comprehensive resolution of these and a host of other urgent problems, the program under discussion will only lead to failure.

The program notes that the agro-industrial complex is the sector most prepared for the introduction of market relations and, as a result, starting on 1 January 1991 it is expedient to sell the output of agro-industrial complex sectors through wholesale trade and on the basis of free pricing. In this situation one may expect not only an abrupt increase in prices for food goods but also a new panic among the population, which could lead to unpredictable consequences.

I do not understand what calculations were used in the program to come to the conclusion that a substantial increase in prices is not expected with the village transition to wholesale trade of machine-building products. The calculations of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Agricultural Economy, the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Economy, Labor, and Administration in Agriculture, and a number of other institutes of the Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences demonstrate that a transition to free trade in industrial means of production will inevitably lead to an increase in prices of no less than 40-50 percent.

The experience of recent years clearly testifies to this. In order to purchase a common self-propelled hay mower for cutting grass today, one needs to sell the state 400 quintals of grain—2.5 times more than in 1970. All this has an effect on the cost of production. More than 4 billion rubles [R] of profits have been lost to the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] due to increases in prices on equipment.

But the program does not have any provisions for control over the observation of price equivalency. The idea is put forward that expenditures of assets on production of a unit of output will decrease, and this will ensure an increase in the profitability of production.

Only unfamiliarity with the true situation in agriculture and other sectors of the agro-industrial complex can explain the provision of Shatalin's program to the effect that a degree of saturation of agriculture with the popular types of equipment being produced is increasing real demand. According to data of the All- Union Scientific Research Institute of the Agricultural Economy, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Planning and Norms, the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Economy, Labor, and Administration, and a number of other scientific institutes of the agro-industrial complex

of the Russian Federation, the demand of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes for automobiles and tractors are only being 70-75 percent satisfied, 60-65 percent for corn combine-harvesters and silage harvesters, 59 percent for milking systems, and 75 percent for mineral fertilizers. One should also mention the poor quality of the machinery, the steady increase in prices for them, and the extremely unsatisfactory provision to farms of spare parts and other materials and resources.

The rich harvest this year has once again shown the weakness of the material and technical base of the agricultural sector. The government has repeatedly had to use emergency measures. In a number of regions combines have idled for long periods of time because of interruptions in fuel supplies. This has been expensive for the city as well as for the countryside. Calculations show that if the countryside had the necessary material and technical base at its disposal, then in general there would be no need to import food goods. Preventing the losses which are tolerated every year because of the low level of mechanization and the absence of the necessary base for storing and processing output would permit us to increase production by 20-30 percent. This is practically enough to resolve the food problem. Unfortunately, the designers of the program do not take this completely into account either.

The experience of the USSR Directorate for the Poultry Industry testifies to the decisive significance of the material and technical base, specialization of production, and application of the achievements of science and technology. About R30 billion were spent on developing that sector, and the fund of available equipment grew by a factor of 15. Where previously on small private farms one worker handled 2,000-3,000 hens and gathered 300-400 eggs each per year, now the modern operator has 25,000-30,000 hens at his disposal and he receives 6-7 million eggs from them. In the process, labor costs for a unit of output have decreased by a factor of eight. Today the Directorate for the Poultry Industry provides 83-85 percent of dietary eggs and chicken meat processed in the public sector. The expenditures made on production paid for themselves long ago, and during its existence the system has received more than R40 billion in profits. At present the Directorate for the Poultry Industry competes with West European firms. Large-scale industrial production on a base of solid investments in conjunction with acceleration of scientific and technical progress has convincingly shown its effectiveness here.

Apprehension is also stirred by measures to stabilize the food market that for the most part are no more than declarations of hackneyed slogans: Eliminating monopolistic practices by producers, processors, and trade enterprises, economizing on costs on production of food goods, etc. The innovation here is the privatization of land and of the basic funds of a significant portion of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The program minimizes the role of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the resolution of the food problem and proposes wide privatization of land. The plan is to carry out this effort within strict deadlines, almost forcibly, using economic levers. Will this not be "collectivization in reverse?"

Today one agricultural worker gets nine hectares of arable land, with variations among the republics ranging from 20 to one hectare. In practice, the question immediately arises: How is this land to be divided? Where will the plot of land be allotted, at what distance from the village, and what will be the quality of land for each particular worker? It is quite understandable that in the majority of cases it will be impossible to allocate such plots of land because of the existing structure of production and of the location and sizes of the fields. Incidentally, it is also necessary to divide up basic production funds, livestock structures, workshops, etc., which is also unrealistic. But the main thing is that this may lead to destabilization of the labor collectives and mass conflicts with unpredictable consequences.

At present everyone knows that one of the most critical problems in the countryside is creation of the necessary conditions for labor, daily life, and relaxation for the peasant. These conditions are intolerably poor, and they are partly to blame for the fact that the size of the agricultural population in the RSFSR has decreased by 21 percent over 20 years. According to many indicators for housing appliances, the countryside has fallen significantly behind the city in terms of cultural and consumer facilities. Only one-fifth of the agricultural population is provided with a centralized water supply, and even less with centralized sewerage. Each farm in the non-Chernozem, Siberia, and Far East regions gets on the average 3.7 kilometers of surfaced roads where there is a minimum need of 25-30 kilometers. This is the first thing we need to do!

Instead of resolving these vitally important questions, it is noted that there is a need to devise a program to use budgetary financing to provide an infrastructure for regions in which organization of peasant farms takes on a mass character, and to introduce tax exemptions for peasant farms.

The draft bill orients economic policy toward the village versus large agricultural production and toward the collapse of an already existing economic and technical potential. And this can only lead to lamentable results.

Tasks Outlined for Timely Harvesting

904B0293A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report on interview with Yu.M. Bekhterev, chief of the Administration for Economics and Intersectoral Relations of the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture and Foodstuffs, by SELSKAYA ZHIZN; place and date not given: "To Fully Harvest and Preserve the Crop"]

[Text] The Russian government has outlined additional measures for financial incentives in the course of harvesting. Yu.M. Bekhterev, chief of the Administration

for Economics and Intersectoral Relations of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Agriculture and Foodstuffs, discusses these measures.

[Bekhterev] RSFSR Council of Ministers Decree No 25a "On Urgent Measures for Increasing the Procurement of Farm Products from the 1990 Harvest and Ensuring Their Preservation" adopted on 26 July 1990 provides for expanding the independence of labor collectives in handling the output produced. Along with additional measures for increasing financial incentives for workers in the course of harvesting, the incentive of issuing "Harvest-90" checks was implemented for the first time. Naturally, this has brought about questions.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What are these checks about?

[Bekhterev] First of all, a "Harvest-90" check is not a bill; it is not tender; it is merely a guarantee of acquiring sought-after goods at retail prices in trade outlets.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] For what types of products are "Harvest-90" checks issued?

[Bekhterev] For all types of standard crops and animal products sold to the state.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Who receives "Harvest-90" checks and in what amounts?

[Bekhterev] They are being issued to all producers of farm goods (collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms [sovkhozes], peasant farms, and personal auxiliary plots) that sell such goods to the state between 1 July 1990 and 30 June 1991, as well as to processing enterprises, storage facilities, procurement organizations, and the organizations of consumer cooperatives. In addition, enterprises are allowed to use some of their checks to give incentives to supplier enterprises and servicing organizations by agreement with them.

The amount of checks received by agricultural enterprises comes to 10 percent of the proceeds from the sale of products to the state at the prices in effect, taking into account differentiated bonuses and bonuses based on the quality of products, and to 15 percent for the volume of products sold above the average annual level of 1986 through 1989.

It is envisaged that procurement organizations will issue checks to employees directly involved in purchasing agricultural products for the state in the amount of 0.6 percent of the value of the products purchased, and to procurement enterprises and storage facilities in the amount of 30 percent of the cost of all standard products secured by them due to reducing storage losses and increasing the yields in the course of processing raw materials compared to the level attained in the last two years. The issuance of checks in the amount of 0.75 percent of the cost of goods actually sold for the checks in question is also envisaged for the trade personnel of the organizations of consumer cooperatives involved in the sale of the goods.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What are the procedures for the issuance of checks?

[Bekhterev] "Harvest-90" checks are issued to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, peasant farms (farms), and other enterprises and organizations by offices (branches) of banks in their service area on the basis of calculations confirmed by the local organs of state statistics; in the process, agricultural enterprises, peasant farms, and personal auxiliary plots may receive checks in advance in the amount of one percent of the cost of products for which a contract is signed.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] How are the earned checks used?

[Bekhterev] It is recommended that enterprises and organizations use no less than 60 percent of the checks received for acquiring sought-after goods for the employees of their enterprises and organizations. Other checks will be used by a decision of the labor collective to buy equipment, materials, and preparations for medical and child-care establishments, schools, public catering enterprises, and other social facilities, as well as to purchase agricultural machinery and shops for processing products.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What additional rights have the kolkhozes and sovkhozes been granted for selling agricultural products?

[Bekhterev] It is recommended that agricultural enterprises sell up to 10 percent of the total harvest of grain, potatoes, fruit and vegetables, and other farm products to the employees of farms, including temporary and seasonal employees, at contract prices but no higher than the current state procurement prices, and in the event there are no such prices—no higher than maximum contract prices. In the process, the farms determine for themselves procedures, terms, and levels of remunerations in kind for labor. All centralized restrictions on the issuance and sale of products are canceled.

The same decree also allowed all producers of farm goods to sell surpluses that appear after the execution of the signed contracts, as well as to sell, in keeping with existing procedures, up to 30 percent of the volumes of potatoes, vegetables, melon crops, fruits and vegetables, and table grapes envisaged by sales contracts, at their discretion, to procurers or other consumers at contract prices.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What additional measures are recommended for completing the harvesting of 1990 in an organized manner?

[Bekhterev] Employees of industrial and other enterprises, offices, and organizations, and students from colleges and secondary vocational schools are being enlisted for completing the harvesting within optimal periods of time. It is recommended that kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises use payments in kind more extensively in the course of harvesting potatoes, vegetables, and fruit to give greater

material incentives to permanent and temporary workers, using for this purpose up to 50 percent of the crop if necessary.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What additional rights are given to sugar plants?

[Bekhterev] With a view to increasing the production of sugar, reducing losses, and improving technology, sugar plants are allowed to retain at their disposal 50 percent of the sugar produced in September-October 1990 above the level of the corresponding period of last year to sell at contract prices on RSFSR territory.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What incentives are given to agricultural enterprises for selling sugar beets within optimal periods of time?

[Bekhterev] A 30-percent bonus on top of the procurement price for sugar beets procured before 20 September 1990 inclusive has been established for kolkhozes and sovkhozes in order to ensure the efficient processing of sugar beets harvested in 1990 within optimal periods of time and an even capacity utilization of the sugar plants.

Agricultural Developments for 23-24 Sep

LD2509063190

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 23-24 September, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

23 September

No significant developments reported.

24 September

Grain on two million hectares remains to be reaped in Kazakhstan. The pace of work is high. The virgin field is yielding a kind harvest: 5 quintals per hectare more than last year. And in all this year Kazakhstan is planning to sell 16 million tonnes of grain to the state. (1100)

According to the report of the republican state committee for statistics, about 35 million tonnes of grain have been procured, which is the highest yield in recent years. The average yield was 13.2 quintals per hectare. Since the beginning of the harvesting season more than 19 million tonnes of grain have been threshed. (Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT)

The harvest has dragged on for over two months in Kuybyshev Oblast. At present, 10 percent of grain crops and groats are still unharvested. The hand over of grain to the state is being held up. The difficulties are being created, inter alia, by a large harvest and bad weather. (1500)

Baltics

Coverage of Prunskiene, Gorbachev 24 Sep Meeting

Talks Held in Moscow

LD2409111690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 24 Sep (TASS)—Kazimiera Tarvydiene (nee Prunskiene), chairman of the Lithuaniuan Council of Ministers, flew off to Moscow today with Romualdas Ozalas, her deputy.

As a TASS correspondent was informed in Lithuania's permanent mission in the Soviet capital, they are to meet with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. There are no details on the forthcoming meeting. Until recently, the head of the Lithuanian government has had the name Prunskiene, but following her second marriage she has changed it to Tarvydiene.

Meeting Begins

LD2409134290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] As we reported earlier, Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene and Vice Premier Romualdas Ozolas flew to Moscow today.

It was announced by an ELTA correspondent half an hour ago that the meeting between Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has begun.

Lithuanian Vice Premier Romualdas Ozolas and the Lithuanian republic's permanent representative in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas, are also participating in the meeting.

Prunskiene Comments on Meeting

LD2409213990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuania 1900 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Interview with Kazimiera Prunskiene, chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, by Lithuanian Radio correspondent Zenonas Miksys, at Vilnius Airport on her return from Moscow on 24 September—recorded]

[Text] [Miksys] Esteemed Prime Minister, please tell us about your brief but very important visit to Moscow.

[Prunskiene] Well, once again the attitude to the future of Lithuania and its future relations with the Soviet Union were elucidated. We were not suprised to hear that the arguments in favor of our participating in the treaty were voiced quite unambiguously, very firmly, and with great self-confidence by the president and his people. By the way, A. Lukyanov, Y. Trimakov, and R. Nishanov also took part in the meeting.

Well, as always we maintained our point of view on our future which is that we will not participate, that is the determination of Lithuania not to participate in the Union treaty has been unambiguously stated and that the government is adhering to this. At the same time the further resolution of these relations was discussed. We reminded them that there were delegations from both sides but that these had not yet met. President Gorbachev said that there was a possibility for the delegations to meet. They of course will have more ways than we have to prove that we should accept this proposal.

However, everything had been formulated in such a way that essentially these i's should be dotted during the negotiations. There will be the opportunity to negotiate on our proposals. Both sides are coming to the negotiating table practically resolved to negotiate concrete issues and to look for a way to define these new relations. It seems that the most outstanding problem today is how to define these new relations.

We stressed that these were relations with the Soviet Union and not the position of Lithuania within the Soviet Union; that is, as in Russian it is not vy [you, formal mode] but ty [you, familiar mode] and I believe that they heard this.

[Miksys] Were any reproaches voiced concerning the Lithuanian Government or parliament?

[Prunskiene] To tell the truth, they let it be understood quite clearly that at the moment they were not very interested either in stimulating the negotiations or in a positive solution; that the world was not very concerned about it but was rather more concerned about the stability of the Soviet Union; and that we were unduly relying on the support of other countries, including the United States, which is not interested in destabilizing the Soviet Union.

Of course we drew their attention to our argument that this did not mean destabilizing the Soviet Union because Lithuania is a sovereign state will not cause any destabilizion in this region. We also said that one way or another the Lithuanian issue has become the subject of international discussion today and that in any case, despite any turn further negotiations might take, this issue is nevertheless the focus of international attention. Therefore, it is inevitable that it be resolved.

Of course, references were made to earlier statements by Gorbachev on the issue, especially to the one he made on 20 July when he gave a rather positive prognosis about possible agreement and urged us to start negotiations. He did not retreat completely from his earlier intentions, but he did let it be understood that this is now far from being of great importance to him. He said that either at the end of this week or next week, he would give instructions to N. Ryzhkov to make arrangements with us concerning a date for the negotiations. It was clear from his statement that he would most probably also be able to take part in the beginning.

If the Soviet Government now renders the start of negotiations abortive or in any way exerts pressure on us

at the start of the negotiations, treating us as an unequal partner, bearing in mind their power with regard to us, then no doubt this will indicate that it is coming to the end of its existence.

[Miksys] In a nutshell, is there any hope for Lithuania?

[Prunskiene] There has always been hope. Well, you know my opinion which is that we could have put it to use far earlier.

[Miksys] Better late than never.

[Prunskiene] Better late than never, yet at the same time we must bear in mind what the current situation is so that we may obtain as much benefit for Lithuania from it as possible.

Yes, by the way one of the important arguments that Gorbachev kept repeating was that there was a statement from all republics except us, the Baltic republics, expressing a wish to participate in the Union treaty, and especially stressing the establishment of autonomous republics and other units, and the possibility that this could take place in (?Lithuania).

'Future Relations' Examined

LD2409163890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1507 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Sep (TASS)—Talks between Lithuania and the Soviet Union can start at the end of this week or next week. Kazimiera Prunskiene, chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, stated this in an interview with a TASS correspondent after the meeting with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev which took place today in Moscow. Taking part in it were also Antoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Soviet parliament; Yevgeniy Primakiov, member of the Presidential Council; and Pomualdas Ozolas, deputy head of the Lithuanian government, Kazimiera Prunskiene said.

According to the head of the Lithuanian government the participants in the meeting discussed the issue of the "future relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union." Kazimiere Prunskiene thinks that following the forthcoming talks one may be able to hope for concrete accords on individual issues, but "great contradictions may appear because of the definition of bilateral relations," in particular because of Lithuania's refusal to accede to the new Union Treaty. This intention of the Lithuanian side was perceived in Moscow with "obvious scepticism," the prime minister said.

Kazimiera Prunskiene once again confirmed the position of the Lithuanian government which advocated the "establishment of republican sovereignty." In her opinion, favorable conditions were developing for talks with Moscow on the subject, for example, at the beginning of last summer. However, since the start of the talks was delayed by the Lithuanian side, "a good chance was missed."

Answering the question of a correspondent on the confusion caused by the reports on the marriage of the prime minister and the proposed change of surname, Kazimiera Prunskiene said that she "has not changed her surname and is not going to do this in the near future for political reasons."

Kazimiera Prunskiene left for Vilnius today.

Gorbachev Stresses Benefits

PM2509101990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Will Kremlin Reach Agreement With Independence Square?"]

[Text] A meeting between Soviet and Lithuanian leaders was held in Moscow yesterday.

Taking part in it on the Soviet side were M. Gorbachev, A. Lukyanov, and Ye. Primakov; and on the Lithuanian side K. Prunskiene, R. Ozolas, and E. Bichkauskas. L. Vasiliauskas, press attache at Lithuania's Permanent Mission in Moscow, reported that the talks lasted slightly under an hour. The Lithuanian representatives stressed that Lithuania will remain an independent state and follow its previous course toward independence.

The USSR president tried to persuade them that Lithuania would benefit from remaining a sovereign state within the USSR. In his opinion, this would enable Lithuania to gain a number of advantages as regards economic development. The president gave an assurance that he would instruct N. Ryzhkov to bring forward as far as possible the date for talks between the USSR and Lithuania. At any rate, all disputes need to be discussed at the talks.

Joint Talks To Begin 'Next Week'

LD2409154690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] A meeting between Kazimiera Prunskiene, prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, and Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, took place in the Kremlin today. Romualdas Ozolas and Egidijus Bickauskas took part on Lithuanian side, and A.Lukyanov, Yevgeniy Primakov, and Rafik Nishanov took part on the USSR side.

During the talks, which lasted for about an hour, questions on all-Union interrelations [word indistinct] of the Union and points of view on the changes which are taking place were expressed. The USSR president let it be understood that the West is not interested in destablizing the situation in the Soviet Union. Lithuania has been very closely integrated in the economy of the Soviet Union, therefore cooperation would be useful.

The position on mutual relations, which is already known, was presented by Kazimiera Prunskiene. The USSR president said that he will give instructions to Nikilay Ryzhkov to start negotiations with Lithuania next week.

Coverage of Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Sessions

25 Sep Agenda

LD2509090190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 25 September carries a live relay on proceedings at a Lithuanian Supreme Council session held in Vilnius. An announcer first notes that deputies Abisalas and Motieka are in the chair.

At 0702 GMT Deputy Abisalas reads the agenda and then notes that if a government meeting does not take a long time, Prime Minister Prunskiene will make her report to parliament about her visit to Moscow. The agenda is adopted.

At 0708 GMT, the mayor of the Italian town of [name indistinct] conveyed his greetings to the Supreme Council in Italian; translation in Lithuanian followed.

At 0719 GMT reception deteriorates. Landsbergis speaks about a visit by some guests to Lithuania. An unidentified female speaking in German conveys greetings to the Supreme Council on behalf of a Christian Democratic Party.

At 0732 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis reports on the present situation. He states that Lithuania is not ready to go into endless economic negotiations with Moscow until the political situation is dealt with. He ends his report at 0751 GMT.

At 0752 GMT a vote is taken on the proposed appeal to the United Nations: 97 votes in favor, one against, one abstention.

At 0754 GMT a report on a draft law on state enterprises is delivered by deputy Antanaitis.

At 0800 GMT debates on the draft law on state enterprises begin. A vote is taken during the debates on amendments to individual articles in the law. Various procedural questions are raised during the debate.

At 0835 GMT an interval until 0905 GMT is called. The live relay postponed until 1000 GMT.

At 1005 GMT Algirdas Brazauskas makes a statement on behalf of the republic's government on the order taking goods away from Lithuania's territory. Reception becomes very poor. He reads from a list of various goods which are prohibited from being exported, including food products, alcoholic drinks, furs.

At 1021 GMT questions are put to Brazauskas on the issue.

At 1039 Deputy Beriozovas makes a statement on behalf of a group of deputies on the establishment of a left-wing deputies' faction.

An interval is called at 1044 GMT until 1200 GMT.

An announcer states that the debate on various draft laws will not be broadcast, but that Vilnius radio will resume its live relay once important issues have been dealt with by parliament.

Response to Politburo Appeal

PM2109154190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Nikolay Lashkevich under "Direct Line" rubric: "Tension Mounting in Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius—On 19 September the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted an official statement sharply criticizing the actions of "conservative forces in the USSR."

This statement pins on the Soviet Union the responsibility for the economic difficulties now being experienced by the republic and the increase in social tension in Lithuania. It accuses the USSR of "refusing to guarantee the fulfillment of contractual commitments for supplies of raw materials and goods from 1 October next;" of using the "tactics of diplomatic blockade;" of "usurping Lithuania's borders;" of "armed interference in civilian matters;" of "persecuting young men who have refused to serve in the Soviet Army;" and so forth. It alleges that the USSR is "preparing new aggression."

This must be the first time since 11 March—the day of the proclamation of independence—that such an uncompromising official document has been published. This is a reply to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's appeal to the Communists and inhabitants of Lithuania which reached the republic's Supreme Soviet last Friday. However, the reasons for the statement lie in the acute destabilization of the political and economic situation in Lithuania recently. The economic situation threatens to get out of control, particularly if the republic's vitally important union supplies and receipt of goods really do end soon. Tension is mounting in interethnic relations primarily due to the campaign to remove and transfer monuments, bas reliefs, and memorial plaques to well known Lithuanian and USSR revolutionaries. A bas relief of Snieckus was torn from the wall of the Vilnius City Soviet building 19 September. Earlier, monuments to Lenin and Kapsukas had been defiled and crowds of people besieged the monument to Chernyakhovskiy in central Vilnius until late Wednesday. Now virtually every monument is being guarded by armed servicemen from the Soviet Army and armored personnel carriers. There are enough sparks to ignite the flames of conflict.

On the day before, the "Jaunoji Lietuva" (Young Lithuania) youth union organized a picket of the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture and Education. The pickets demanded that Russian be given the status of a foreign

language in schools and that it be dropped from the list of compulsory subjects. The demands of the excited group of young people did not end there. In addition to peremptory appeals that foreign movies be shown in movie houses and video salons dubbed only in Lithuanian, the pickets also demanded that groups using Russian as the language of instruction in Lithuania's higher educational institutions be scrapped.

The likelihood cannot be ruled out that Russian will acquire foreign language status in the future, for example if Lithuania receives diplomatic recognition as an independent state after the corresponding accords between Lithuania and Russia and between Lithuania and the USSR. But at the present time such demands, as the leadership of the schools department believes, are clearly not conducive to interethnic accord in Lithuania. Furthermore, in the opinion of Department Director V. Paulauskaite, the absolutization of the patriotic national idea will lead to totalitarianism.

Landsbergis Discusses Soviet 'Telephone Diplomacy'

LD2309120190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis has termed as unfounded the assertion that Moscow was prepared for negotiations as early as mid-August. Here is Vytautas Landsbergis, in a telephone call to Vilnius Radio:

[Begin Landsbergis recording] I received some information during the second half of August to the effect that during the Moscow meeting between our representatives and Soviet delegation members, our negotiation protocol—that is its draft—was presented to them. The Soviets accepted it unwillingly as an unofficial document.

This information was further supplemented to the effect that a subsequent unofficial meeting would be possible to discuss conditions for negotiations.

Perhaps something would also have been mentioned there concerning our prepared draft negotiation proposal. However, assertions that an agreement had already been received to begin official negotiations in acordance with our protocol, as reported in RESPUBLIKA, are unfounded according to my information.

At the end of August, the actual situation in Lithuania was as follows: The prime minister was vacationing in Greece, and the Supreme Council, having been delegated to hold discussions, had formed a delegation for negotiations with the Soviet Union in the face of opposition resistance.

The following morning [as heard], I departed on an official working visit to Denmark following an invitation by that country's prime minister.

From there I left for Norway to attend an international conference and to hold consultations with leaders and industrialists of that country.

By the time we assembled in Vilnius, at the Supreme Council session at the beginning of September, the Persian Gulf had been boiling for quite some time. I addressed a letter to Nikolay Ryzhkov—true, I did not do so immediately—concerning a possible meeting, and I am still awaiting a reply.

In my estimation, to continue the current endless discussions among ourselves about that week in September is neither constructive nor useful, with respect to the affair in general.

Not one of our written appeals concerning negotiations, and there have been more than 50, has received a direct written reply.

The Soviets prefer only telephone diplomacy which does not obligate them and leaves room for considerable intrigues. They have some good experts in that area. That is why no assistance should be proffered from our side. [end recording]

Bickauskas Disccuses Meeting With U.S. Ambassador

LD2109135390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] Today I phoned the permanent representative of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas. As is known, a meeting took place there with members of the Presidential Council.

[Begin recording] [Bickauskas] Such meeting did take place yesterday. But I would like to single out a meeting which took place in the morning with Mr. John Matlock, the U.S. ambassador in Moscow. I single out this meeting also because this was the first official visit by Mr. Matlock to the Lithuanian mission. The conversation with the ambassador was rather interesting. And in the afternoon Kazimiera Prunskiene, together with Vice Premier Ozolas and myself, met with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev and Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov. These were separate talks, each lasted for about one and a half hours, and we wanted to elucidate the position of the Soviet Union on the eve of the signing of the Union treaty and its attitude toward Lithuania, and also to explain our views on these problems. Prime Minister Prunskiene frankly told both Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev and Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov that the Republic of Lithuanian does not intend to sign a Union treaty in any form. However, she believes that all of our relations must be settled by way of negotiations and we do not intend to discontinue without any reason all of our relations with the Soviet Union. But these relations must take place only on an equal basis, as between two independent states.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich and Yevgeniy Maksimovich also explained their attitude.

[Announcer] We were a bit anxious yesterday because the supply of oil to the Mazeikiai oil refinery was discontinued for several hours. Some people thought that the blockade was starting once again.

[Bickaukas] I would not say that there are any signs of the blockade. I would think that this happened because of confusion in the Soviet Union itself. It seems that such failures to supply, not to supply everything, the stoppages of supply will happen in the future too. [passage indistinct]

[Announcer] According to our information, a meeting with the president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, should have taken place. But it did not take place because he was attending a Politburo meeting. Will such a meeting take place within the next few days?

[Bickauskas] I think that such a meeting will take place, although the president of the Soviet Union is experiencing very very difficult days. As you know, yesterday the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet adopted a very important decision on the resignation of the Soviet Union's government. Today the president is taking part in a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet where, according to my information, a very important question of granting additional powers to the president of the Soviet Union enabling him to issue normative acts linked with the transition to the market will be discussed. This is a very important decision for the Soviet Union and today the president will face a great fight, if one may say so, in the Supreme Soviet. But in spite of this, the Lithuanian question—the independence of Lithuania—is also I think very important to him, and I am convinced that such meeting will take place in the nearest future. President Gorbachev himself is interested in such meeting. [end recording]

Lithuania's 'Lenin' Komsomol Reconstituted

PM2509135990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Gromak under "Direct Line" rubric: "New Youth Newspaper"]

[Text] Vilnius—ARENA—the name of a new youth newspaper—is a weekly organ of the Lithuanian Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee, and its first edition has been published in Vilnius. Why is it called ARENA? In its editorial the newspaper gives the following answer to this question: "Probably because in our vocabulary this word is as multifaceted as life itself."

As is known there are now two Communist youth leagues in our republic. In summer 1989, the 21st Congress of the Lithuanian Komsomol adopted a decision to rename its organization. The word "Lenin" was removed from the name. In the fall there followed a statement on withdrawal from the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League. But by no means all members agreed with this. In March of this year the Lithuanian Lenin Komsomol was restored at a constituent congress. There are now 37,500 members in its ranks. The organization's political position is reflected in the following program points: "The Lithuanian Lenin Komsomol advocates active participation on the part of the republic's young people; on the basis of the affirmation of Lithuanian sovereignty; in the creation of a democratic, humane, socialist state in the renewed federation of Soviet republics...."

The newspaper carries an interview with Yuriy Zobnin, secretary of the Lithuanian Lenin Komsomol's republic center.

"Maybe this will be unpleasant for some people to hear, particularly now," he says, "but for us the preservation of the name Lenin is a tribute to the genius of mankind, Vladimir Ilich Lenin. It is also a tribute to the Komsomol members who remained true to the ideals of the Lenin communist youth organization during the years of the class struggle and Stalinist repressions...."

Lithuanian Food Prices Scheduled To Rise

LD2509093990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Food prices are expected to rise in Lithuania, INTERFAX reports. Romualdas Sikorskis, the republic's minister of finance, stated on republican radio that meat and dairy products might double or even treble in price. As you know, a similar step was taken last week in Estonia. Sikorskis noted that the Lithuanian Government was discussing measures to compensate the lowest-paid citizens of the republic for the price rises.

Food prices in Lithuania have stayed unchanged since the mid-1960's, and only cooperatives' food products have been continually rising in price recently. The Lithuanian state budget deficit is expected to amount to 200-250 million rubles [R] by the end of the financial year.

According to some calculations next year might be still more difficult for the republic: the state budget deficit could increase to R1 billion—five times the current deficit.

Lithuanian Parliamentarians Visit Hungary

LD2509115190 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Lithuanian Parliament Emanuelis Zingeris and a member of the Supreme Council's Presidium, Mecys Laurinkus, have been on a visit to Hungary at the invitation of the country's parliament.

That was the first official meeting of the two countries' parliamentarians. It was stated that the time had come to establish concrete relations between Hungary and Lithuania. The first step in this direction has already been made—a permanent group of deputies backing up the Baltic countries' statehood been set up in the Hungarian parliament.

Latvian Party Publishes Draft Action Program

PM2509152990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Purpose—Protection of Working People"]

[Text] Riga, 20 Sep—Today the republican papers publish the draft basic principles of the Latvian Communist Party's action program entitled "Our Party's Aim Is To Protect People's Interests."

The draft notes that the Latvian Communist Party [LCP] is an "autonomous political organization, successor to the Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party founded in 1904." The LCP builds its relations with the Union republican Communist Parties and the CPSU on the basis of common ideological positions and strategic goals.

While acknowledging the state's paramount role in society's life, the LCP advocates a sovereign, rule-of-law, internationally recognized Latvia in a treaty-based Union with sovereign Soviet republics.

The Latvian Communists are against a one-party monopoly and they are for the establishment of a coalition government for the republic. The party is amenable to dialogue and constructive cooperation with all public associations and movements apart from those that preach fascist, nationalist, chauvinist, and antisocialist ideas.

In the economic sphere the LCP advocates real autonomy for the Latvian economy and the qualitative renewal of economic relations with the USSR.

Latvian Resolution Regulating Trade Explained

PM2109103790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Palmbach, Latvian government trade adviser, by correspondent O. Meshkov; place and date not given: "Trade—But It Must Be Honest!"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] We have already reported that the Latvian Republic Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution "On Measures To Prevent Violations of the Rules of Trade." What was the reason for this document and what measures are envisaged to establish order in trade? PRAVDA correspondent O. Meshkov put those questions to V. Palmbach, adviser to the republic's government on trade and consumer services.

Recently the population's discontent at negative phenomena in trade and the ever-increasing scarcity of goods has intensified, Valdis Palmbach said. You can see that particularly clear for yourself by going to the markets in Riga and other cities in the republic. Goods from the retail trade network wind up there selling at two or three times the normal price. People understand the mechanics of this very well and rightly ask: "What are the authorities doing?"

There is another problem: Often such goods are to be seen in cooperative commission stores, which have become very numerous in our country. And that is a violation of store operating regulations. Such stores are not good at keeping records of the goods that they receive, often in order to conceal from outsiders the route by which the goods arrive from the state retail trade system.

I have to say that the Council of Ministers has been receiving many complaints and indignant letters from the population. That is why a government commission to safeguard the population's living standard was created and its first action was to tackle the very questions that we are talking about here.

Now for the measures contained in the resolution to combat violations of trade rules. The resolution categorically bans trade in the republic's markets in goods acquired in the state retail trade network at prices above the current retail prices. In short, we are declaring war on speculators. This demand also extends to cooperative stores.

Here is another innovation. A list of monopoly goods which may only be traded in the state retail network and consumer cooperative stores has been approved. They include coffee, tea, vegetable oil, sugar, salt, tobacco, spirits, jewelry, diamonds and other precious stones, gold articles, and gasoline. Of course we would like a larger supply of these goods and if, for example, cooperative workers or private individuals obtain them outside the republic and fill our market with them, we are not going to object; but on one condition—the fact that they were acquired honestly must be confirmed by a special license of the republic's Ministry of Trade or the Latvian Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives.

Local organs of power have been instructed to conduct a reregistration of cooperative commission stores. Their owners will be issued with licenses showing what goods they may sell.

One last thing: we have prepared a package of draft laws which provide strict measures to combat speculation.

TASS Report Evokes Controversy in Estonia

PM2109140990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "Apt Remarks": "Who Understands Pluralism and How"]

[Text] A great deal has already been said about how there are some political forces in our society which declare themselves to be in favor of pluralism of opinions but in practice categorically reject any views different to their own and organize noisy "battles" against heterodoxy.... Here is a new example of this.

Your TASS correspondent was "careless" enough to express his point of view in an item entitled "People Without a Future" on the sociopolitical processes taking place in Estonia and the pressure now being brought to bear on the Russian-speaking population in the republic. The item was published in PRAVDA on 11 September and in a number of other newspapers. What was the response to it in Estonia?

In an open letter addressed to TASS which has appeared in several republic newspapers, the author's ideas in the article "People Without a Future" are described as nothing other than "malicious" and "provocative." The Estonian Supreme Soviet Press Service, which signed this letter, believes that "the unseemly objectives of this article are clear: to cause a quarrel between Russian and Estonian people, wreck negotiations between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Estonian Republic, and stir up interethnic hatred...." The press service could find no other "arguments" as we can see.

So does the article really contain "twisted, deliberately distorted facts"? The answer to this question can be found in a statement by the Estonian Council of Strike Committees which says that the TASS report published in PRAVDA "is a very objective, valid reflection of recent events in the republic and of forecasts made by statesmen themselves, including A. Ruutel, of how the situation will develop in the immediate future...."

This is also shown, the statement continues, by assessments of the political situation in the republic and the authorities' actions which have been repeatedly made at rallies of working people held at enterprises and in cities throughout the republic and during political strike action and picketing in 1989 and 1990.

A large role in fueling the tension, persecuting Communists, and stirring up interethnic discord has been played by the republic's mass media and the virtual information blockade of healthy forces among the Estonian public.

The Estonian Council believes that "the open letter of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Press Service is itself a means of laying the responsibility for the blunders, mistakes, and incompetence of government circles at someone else's door; creating a split in relations between working people of different nationalities; and stopping developing trends toward interethnic consolidation in the struggle for the vital rights of the republic's working people.

"The council recommends that the Estonian Supreme Soviet Press Service and other mass media bodies in the republic weigh their words more carefully, take a look at themselves, and leaf through the files of their own publications when talking about lies, falsification, provocative articles, and the professional honor and ethics of journalists and organs of the press."

Estonian Republican Assembly Party Established

LD2409103190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Summary] The constituent congress of the Estonian Republican Assembly Party took place today. Ulo Parnits, elected as one of the deputy chairmen, said the party will deal with practicalities in developing a market economy. He said the party expects to be popular with economists and industry managers.

Leo Starkov was elected chairman of the party. Six deputies were also elected.

Estonia Seeks Reinstatement of State Order

PM2509122990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Estonia Returns to State Order"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Government has suggested to the republic's Supreme Soviet a return to the system of state orders for some types of food.

Estonia was one of the first to embark on the economy's radical emancipation from state tutelage. Some instructions and other normative acts were repealed, others fell by the way of their own accord. The administrative organs are no longer monitoring how economic discipline is being observed. And with the monopoly of the producers, no other mechanism except the edict mechanism will offer salvation.

Today departmental egotism calls the tune. It is as though the producer's hands had been untied to enable him to clear out consumers' pockets more easily. Statistics convince us of this. Industry and agricultural complex enterprises are disrupting food deliveries. Fewer articles, goods, and foodstuffs are being produced than last year yet trade turnover in rubles has increased considerably through uncontrolled price increases.

This was stated by members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium who discussed the government's request to introduce state orders. The lack of economic discipline can no longer be tolerated. The government must be sure that enterprises supply the population with at least the minimum necessary quantity of food and while economic levers are absent you cannot manage without the state order. But while recognizing the need for the state order the presidium members believed that it is not the business of the Supreme Soviet to take such decisions. The government itself must take emergency steps to ensure that the republic emerges from the crisis situation. It has the right to establish a government order for enterprises. As we can see, terminology is changing

somewhat but the thrust is the same—administrative coercion. People obviously cannot do without it in the transitional period.

Estonia Repeals 1989 Union Budget Act

LD2409202890 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tallinn September 24 TASS—A regular session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet that opened here is largely devoted to the draft laws on taxation, including the draft law on income tax, that envisages a considerable increase of tax rates.

Speaking at the session, head of the Estonian Government E. Savisaar called on members of parliament to give up populist illusions and realise that the reduction of taxes will have a deleterious effect on Estonia's state budget, which will entail the further deterioration of the economic situation.

The deputies are also to discuss the correlation between the state budgets of Estonia and the Union. Its constructive solution was hampered by the fact that from the viewpoint of some radical supporters for the restoration of Estonia's state sovereignty, the resumption of payments to the Union budget is fraught with "new economic shackles".

"We are prepared to act like a man who wants to borrow money and ensures that he will never restore the debt," said deputy P. Grigoryev.

After a debate the session decided to repeal the 1989 act of the Estonian Supreme Soviet of the previous convocation about the termination of payments to the Union budget.

RSFSR

Coverage of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings

Comments on Challenge to Union Power

PM2409152390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 90 p 1

[Feature comprising RSFSR Supreme Soviet decree "On the Resignation of the USSR Government," followed by parliamentary correspondent D. Muratov commentary under general headline: "House of Soviets Dictates to Kremlin. RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proposes That USSR Government Resign"]

[Text] Resolution of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet "On the Resignation of the USSR Government"

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet notes that the USSR Government:
is not capable of leading the country out of its profound economic crisis;
is unable to fulfill its constitutional obligations to defend RSFSR sovereignty;
has lost the trust of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet;
does not enjoy the support of the broad masses.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:
to propose that the USSR Supreme Soviet resolve the question of the resignation of the entire USSR Government, and adopt emergency measures to form a government of the people's trust.

[Signed] RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman B. Yeltsin

[Muratov] A center left without environs becomes a province. In this case a political province. As I understand it, if the center has not changed its government by 1 October—the date the countdown of Russia's "500 days" begins—only the garrison services of the Kremlin will remain under its control.

I believe that such a serious, and in many ways enforced, step by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet will be received just as seriously by the Union parliament.

The resolution "On the Resignation of the USSR Government" is an event without precedent in our history. But there were sufficiently curious episodes at the Russian session. For instance, the debate over the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and its chief editor, Valentin Chikin. I personally do not support this newspaper's line. To judge from their mood, neither do many RSFSR people's deputies. However, the heckling comments that the chief editor—**AN RSFSR PEOPLE'S DEPUTY**—should be fired are simply not in line with the law. I was not convinced, unfortunately, by the argument that was heard in the lobbies—"We are the supreme legislative organ and can do anything." All the same it is the "supreme" legislative organ through observing the laws, not deviating from them. I think that a far more productive path is to set up new newspapers of one's own, not a lengthy free-for-all over old publications. Another question—the issue of the distribution of profits which formerly went entirely into the CPSU's coffers—is also appropriate. But the main institution deciding the fate of an editor must be—once again in my view—the journalists' collective and the norms of the editorial statutes....

The question has been postponed indefinitely. A draft Law "On Local Soviets of People's Deputies and Local Self-government in the RSFSR" has also been deferred. The debate will, I suggest, continue around this question for a long time yet. The reason is: It is strongly apparent that the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" will have to be removed from the agenda. The executive soviet power—the old "special forces" ["spetsy"]—is paralyzed by the new soviet legislators, while the legislators are cut off from life by the executive power. Overall the Russian parliament comprises 800,000 deputies of all levels. Delimitation of the functions of our elected representatives is essential. The question of the day is a strong executive power.

Draft on Self-Government Issued

LD2409172790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 24 sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Sep (TASS)—The lawmaking process in the Russian Federation, the largest republic in the USSR, is acquiring a new quality. Along with members of the permanently operating parliament, wide circles of the scientific community are getting involved, including organizations of a new type. They include the Moscow cooperative scientific production association "Rizalt-2".

Highly qualified scientists and practitioners in the field of jurisprudence have worked out an initiative draft law of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] "On Local Self-Government in the Rural Soviets, Settlements, Rayons, and Towns of the RSFSR."

Developing the system of local self-government within the republic is an important element in establishing Russia's sovereignty. For this reason the draft law, drafted at a high level, was greeted with great interest by the Russian Parliament. Naturally, the members of the Supreme Soviet are engaged in intensive lawmaking work, but the emergence of alternative drafts can only enrich collective thinking. The members of the parliamentary committee for legislation discussed the materials put forward by the "Rizalt-2" specialists and concluded that the authors of the draft law had been highly professional. This was the view expressed by Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the committee and member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, in conversation with the TASS correspondent.

The alternative draft fully subscribes to the concept of handing over as much power as possible to the local soviets of people's deputies, which is adhered to by the Russian Parliament. The scientists, in creatively developing the fundamental ideas of Russian sovereignty, will be very useful assistants to the lawmakers in the Russian Federation.

Market Economy Discussed

LD2409135690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1030 GMT on 24 September carries a six-minute report by correspondent Olga Vasilenko from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet proceedings in Moscow.

Vasilenko states that committees and commissions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet are working today and are considering various laws connected with the introduction of the market economy. A number of deputies have been in conversation with Khasbulatov and a decision has been made that all deputies should meet to discuss their positions on the issue of the transition to the market economy at 1500 [1100 GMT].

Vasilenko speaks to Nikolay Pavlovich Medvedev, who is a member of the commission on national state structure and interethnic relations. Medvedev gives his views about the work of this commission on interethnic relations within the RSFSR being more important than economic issues. He expresses regret that delays have been so great in dealing with these issues and summarizes existing problems relating to the declarations of sovereignty made by various ethnic groups in the republic.

Use of Russian Troops Restricted

PM2409211190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

["RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on the Participation of RSFSR Citizens in Resolving Interethnic Conflicts Outside the RSFSR"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] citizens drafted for compulsory active military service into the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces, the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops, and the USSR KGB troops, in addition to fulfilling the duties of military service in defending the USSR, participate by decision of the USSR Government in measures to resolve interethnic conflicts arising in union republics. This runs counter to Article 29 of the RSFSR Constitution. Enlisted and command personnel of RSFSR internal affairs organs are also involved in resolving these conflicts.

Deeming it unacceptable to send RSFSR citizens outside the RSFSR to participate in resolving interethnic conflicts, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. It is to be deemed inadmissible to send RSFSR citizens drafted for active military service outside the RSFSR to participate in resolving interethnic conflicts, and to perform other tasks not provided for in Article 29 of the RSFSR Constitution.

2. The USSR Supreme Soviet, jointly with all Union republic Supreme Soviets, is to be instructed to adopt a decision to form interrepublican special units within an agreed time to maintain order in regions of interethnic conflicts and other emergency situations. These units are to be manned exclusively on a contract basis.

The deadlines and the procedure for interrepublican special units to replace internal troops and the USSR Armed Forces in regions of conflicts are to be determined.

The use of military force to settle interethnic conflicts on the territories of other Union republics is to be considered possible only on the terms of a treaty between the parliaments of the interested sides, and the nature of its use must be placed under the permanent control of parliamentary commissions especially created by the republics' Supreme Soviets.

3. The posting of enlisted and command personnel of RSFSR internal affairs organs, and of RSFSR MVD educational institutions, outside the RSFSR to participate in resolving interethnic conflicts is to be prohibited.

4. The USSR Supreme Soviet is to be notified that, in the event of the decision not being adopted by 1 November 1990, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet reserves the right to suspend the draft into the USSR MVD internal troops, and the sending of RSFSR citizens to serve in military units of the USSR Ministry of Defense involved in settling interethnic conflicts.

[Signed] B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Moscow, The RSFSR House of Soviets, 24 September 1990

Achalov Addresses Constituent Congress on Army

90SV0056A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Speech by Colonel General V. Achalov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and commander of the Airborne Troops, to the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party: "We Are Not Changing Our Colors"]

[Text] The situation that arose before the congress and the discussion that unfolded around it reminded me of the precept of Peter I which paratroopers have always followed: "Once you have sworn an oath to the colors, you must defend them to the death." I would like to say to all Communists of the country and Russia that the party organizations of the Airborne Troops are vigorous party organizations. They do not intend and will not change the party colors. (Applause.)

This is especially important because there are quite a few zealous accusers who see themselves in judicial robes, not for an analysis of the historical substance of the matter and not for joint democratic work, but for delivering a verdict written beforehand to everyone who stands in their way. There were some who tried to begin the work of our congress today with this.

The large-scale reforms in the economy, in the political system, and in the state system are well known. They are occurring in mutual relations with changes in international policy. As always at these critical turning points, the Army is the guarantor of the stability and security of society.

Speaking at a recent meeting with participants in an exercise in the Odessa Military District, our country's president, M.S. Gorbachev, noted that not one large country can presently do without armed forces that are adequate to the position of the country in the world and its role in world politics, especially those countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council. This is also conditioned by the fact that we live in a world in which too many weapons have been stockpiled, including the so-called absolute weapon that is capable of destroying civilization and life on earth itself. This concern about the world, about one's own home, and about peace on earth also forms the basis of defense construction as a whole and of military reform in particular. The Army and Navy combine in themselves all the features of society, its intellect, its social fabric and dynamics of development, its productive forces and quality of labor, and its health and international structure.

But in every army in the world in all times and under all reforms there remains that which constitutes its spirit and character—very deep patriotism, discipline, subordination, grave and dangerous military work, and the highest sense of civic duty and responsibility for the fate of the Motherland and for the people who inhabit it.

Therefore the reform of the Army demands high qualifications, comprehensive knowledge, and responsibility. Such transformations have occurred or are occurring in all armies of the world. But there was a lot of tact, concern, and professionalism on the part of the state organs in this process!

The peremptoriness and professional incompetence in their approach to this problem shown by reformers of the Armed Forces Colonel Tsalko and Major Lopatin evoke concern, amazement, and indignation in our units today. At times we are overcome with envy: That which requires detailed calculations and investigation is for them clear. Instead of comparisons and discussions, they insist on the adoption only of their draft.

Or let us take the problem, as it is being raised, of the depoliticization of the Armed Forces. No data are cited: What do the troops think of this, and what research has been done on this score? We are also the Army and, as the commander of troops and as a Communist, I would like to say once more: We do not have this problem. All armies, especially the most powerful ones, do not permit neglect in educational work. On the contrary, they develop and strengthen it with specially trained cadres.

Here is what Sergeant V.S. Ledenev wrote to me in a letter recently: "My Army biography is ordinary: training, a combat division. Airborne service has changed me in many ways. Most of all I learned what is meant by a comrade's support and helping hand, and what war is and how dangerous it can be for our people. And my service in the Airborne Troops has reinforced my conscience and morality, and the conscience and morality of my comrades." That, Comrade Communists, is what army service means! And when you talk about a professional Army, then you have to see the main thing: It is important that the contract and the money do not overshadow the spiritual basis of military work. And this occupies a large part of the work of Army Communists.

The soldier and officer are a part of our people. Through his military profession and oath he has the right to defend the country, including also the right to heroic deeds and, of course, to immortality. And no matter what storms might be raised today by the frenzied

nationalists from the Baltics and the Transcaucasus with respect to the use of the Army in different regions of the country, it is there that the people appreciate the defender, and it is this that is important to a person in military uniform, not slanderous articles in one or another newspaper or journal.

Nonetheless, the number of criminal acts and hooligan attacks against the Army today is increasing. While in 1989 85 officers perished, of whom 42 were victims of premeditated murder, this year the numbers have increased sharply. The number of victims today is counted in the hundreds. What further are we to do? The terms "occupiers" and "occupying army" that can be heard in a number of regions of the country insult the senses and degrade the human dignity of people in military uniform.

For various reasons the individual in military uniform builds houses, roads, and enterprises, and harvests crops, while at the same time about 200,000 officers and warrant officers do not have apartments, and of these about 90,000 are in Russia. Today the Russian Federation's arrears to the Ministry of Defense amount to more than 9,000 apartments. The Army, while defending the people, must know that the people see its problems and that these people will help it.

Comrade Communists! The question of the defense of the country is an intricate complex of military, international, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and many other problems. Like everything else, first and foremost it requires competence.

The history of our country and other states shows that violation of this principle leads to grave consequences. We had examples of composers being told how to write music, novelists and poets told how to write novels and poetry, peasants told how and when to sow, and scientists recommended to make discoveries by such and such a date. Any competent thought and idea is valuable to defense construction. But first and foremost this is a matter for military professionals. Defense of the Motherland is their primary duty. And they will not spare any energy for this.

Comrade delegates, I report to you that the command-political staff of the Army and Navy is firmly and consistently carrying out important political-educational work aimed at resolving the tasks facing the Armed Forces under perestroyka conditions. As a result of this, particularly in the troops entrusted to me, people are working intensively and are responsibly resolving tasks levied on them. That is also the way it will be in the future. Thank you for your attention. (Applause)

RSFSR Leaders' Meeting With Military Examined

PM2109145190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by N. Belan: "Important Dialogue"]

[Text] "We are satisfied with the discussion that took place," I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, said, assessing the meeting that members of the Russian Government and parliamentarians had yesterday with leaders of the USSR Ministry of Defense, commanders of military districts and fleets, and also representatives of certain defense enterprises located on RSFSR territory. Sharing his impressions with SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's correspondent, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov pointed to the constructive nature and the importance of that dialogue and the need to extend such contacts and cooperation.

At the meeting attention was centered on a package of problems connected with the functioning of the Armed Forces and the defense sector under conditions of the economy's transition to market relations. Of course far from all the sore questions were raised in the discussion while still less was a solution to them found, not everyone who wished to speak was able to do so, and the participants in the meeting were left with ambivalent impressions of it. But its chief result is, I believe, that a mutually interested dialogue began all the same, and it centered on problems both of strengthening the motherland's defense capability and of all-around, mutually advantageous cooperation between the republic's Supreme Soviet and government and local soviets on the one hand and all military organs and military units stationed in the RSFSR on the other. It was emphasized at the meeting that Russia, unlike certain other Union republics, does not seek to create its own army.

Speeches by R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and G.A. Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, were listened to with tremendous interest. I.S. Silayev and Marshal D.T. Yazov gave answers to numerous questions. In particular, the USSR minister of defense explained once again the situation concerning movements of military units close to Moscow, emphasizing that there are and were no grounds for speaking of a military coup or a show of force and that such a fanning of passions exciting public opinion does not serve to stabilize the already uneasy situation in the country.

Yazov Adresses Meeting

PM2409113190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Urban: "Army in Face of Market"]

[Excerpts] There was a meeting Wednesday [19 September] between I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, and the political command leadership [komandno-politicheskoye rukovodstvo] of the branches of the USSR Armed Forces and of the districts and fleets stationed on the Russian Federation's territory. Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, member of the Presidential Council and USSR defense minister, and R.I.

Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, participated in and addressed the meeting. People's deputies from the Russian Federation and leaders of a number of oblasts were present. [passage omitted]

Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov started his speech by answering written notes he had received. One of them asked why troops are being concentrated in Moscow and Moscow Oblast.

Indeed, we have enough assertions being whipped up about a military coup. If we recall the beginning of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, one of the deputies there stated that paratroopers had been brought into the capital. What really happened? A regiment arrived in Moscow to participate in the November parade.

And here is another fact cited by the defense minister—that surveillance of Chkalovskiy airfield is even being organized, and rumors are circulating to the effect that aircraft are arriving there by night. In reality the situation looks like this. The runway is being repaired, so daytime flights have been halted until after 1900.

As far as cooperation between the Defense Ministry and the Russian Government is concerned, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov cited the following facts. Only 80,000 soldiers are employed in road building in the Non-Chernozem Zone. Substantial assistance has been given in the harvest, but is such cooperation always worth the effort? There is no simple answer to this. Here is just one example. Military transport aircraft can deliver fruit and vegetables to Moscow and Leningrad. The aircraft are ready, but neither Moscow City Soviet nor Leningrad City Soviet have yet made use of them.

An agreement was reached at the meeting on the creation of a Defense Ministry group for economic questions.

Barannikov Outlines MVD Reform Plans

PM2409130590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by A. Urvantsev: "Revolution Must Be Defended. In the RSFSR MVD"]

[Text] The new RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] internal affairs minister, V. Barannikov, has held his first major press conference. In his introductory remarks to journalists he said that the republican ministry's work must be radically restructured in order to make the streets of big cities and small settlements in Russia safe.

"There will be no party committees in the Russian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] system," he firmly stated (note that Comrade V. Barannikov himself is a CPSU member). "The reform envisages an end to the subordination of republican internal affairs organs to any political party. We believe that our subunits must not be drawn into political confrontation with the population. The personnel must serve the law and the people alone and perform their professional duty."

Political administrations are now abolished, the minister said. Asked by your PRAVDA correspondent who, given the general depoliticization, will conduct educational work among the officers and men, V. Barannikov replied:

"It is intended to establish a number of educational services to work with the personnel."

The minister did not clarify what specific kind of services.

"At the Russian MVD," the minister went on, "we are abandoning the administrative legacy and are decentralizing all our organs. This will give our staff scope for independence and initiative.

"Henceforth the RSFSR MVD is subordinated only to the republic's Council of Ministers, therefore it will assume all functions: from protecting public order and fighting crime to criminal investigation. However, the actual process of transferring these powers is a very painful and complex one," the minister admitted. "The Union ministry has reserved for itself many vitally important sectorial activities: financing, material and technical supply, and health—rest homes, sanatoriums—although the workload, and Russia accounts for 70 percent of the total number of recorded crimes, is very large."

After the reform only seven of the 25 existing services will remain. In terms of their structure, they will be compact and will operate independently. For example, a republican investigation bureau is being set up. Instead of the Main Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, it is planned to set up subunits that will protect not only state property but all other types of property, including private.

V. Barannikov dwelt in detail on the sources of the rising crime rate in Russia. In his opinion, all ills result from imbalances in the economy, a decline in discipline and responsibility, and legal nihilism which develops into overt disobedience of the law. At the same time, there are the obvious distortions in law-enforcement practice—the ill-conceived struggle against drunkenness and so-called unearned income.

Add to that the ossification of law-enforcement organs' structures and their forms and methods of work. The professional nucleus of the militia is being eroded and cadre turnover is high.

Statute on RSFSR Party Control Commission

PM2409085790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

["Statute on the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission Approved by RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] 1. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Control Commission is elected by the party congress in order to monitor on behalf of Communists and party organizations the activity of the central organs of the RSFSR Communist Party and their apparatus and institutions and the fulfillment in republic party organizations of the CPSU's program documents and statutes and the decisions of party congresses and conferences.

The commission is guided in its work by the CPSU Statutes and the present statute, is autonomous in its activity, and is accountable solely to the RSFSR Communist Party Congress and Conference.

2. The RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission:

—monitors the observance of democratic principles in the work of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and its executive organs. It protests their decisions if they contravene the provisions of the program or statutes;

—takes measures in cases of bureaucracy, suppression of criticism, abuse of official position, and other violations of the norms of party life;

—assists party organizations to strengthen their ranks and assert party ethics and comradeliness and helps enhance the prestige and autonomy of primary party organizations;

—defends the rights, honor, and dignity of Communists;

—ensures that the right of the minority to defend its position is not infringed in party organizations and elected party organs;

—verifies the observance of prescribed procedure for examining the appeals of party organizations, letters, and statements in the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, its executive organs, apparatus, institutions, and enterprises;

—examines appeals received from party organizations and Communists and submits proposals to the relevant organizations to eliminate the exposed shortcomings;

—calls to account in accordance with the CPSU Statutes any Communist breaching party discipline and undermining party prestige by his actions;

—the decision of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission to call a Communist to account before the party shall be communicated to the primary party organization. If the latter objects, the decision is reexamined with representatives of the party organization invited to be present, after which the decision is deemed to be adopted;

—examines the appeals of Communists against decisions of republic (ASSR) [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] party committees, kraykoms [kray committees], obkoms [oblast committees], and their corresponding control commissions concerning accountability before the party and decides questions of party rehabilitation;

—monitors the implementation of the RSFSR Communist Party budget; audits the financial and economic activity of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, its institutions, publishing houses, and enterprises; and checks work to record party membership dues;

—examines, if necessary together with the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, disagreements arising among republic (ASSR) party committees, kraykoms, and obkoms and their corresponding control commissions;

—helps improve control work in party organizations and provides methodological assistance to control commissions of republic (ASSR), kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations; analyzes and generalizes experience of their activity and its own; and elaborates forecasts and proposals to improve party life.

3. The RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission and its chairman are elected by the RSFSR Communist Party Congress. Communists elected to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission cannot be members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee or workers in its apparatus.

Plenary sessions of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission are held as necessary, but at least twice yearly, and are also held on the demand of one-third of its members.

4. The RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission elects at its plenum a permanent presidium, defines its powers, and forms standing commissions and control groups on areas of work from Central Control Commission members and other Communists.

The presidium presents an annual report on its activity to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission plenum.

5. Members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission participate in the work of RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee plenums and commissions with the right to speak but not vote, and the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Central Control

Commission take a similar part in sessions of the Politburo, Secretariat, and other executive organs of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee.

6. The RSFSR Central Committee Central Control Commission conducts its work in an atmosphere of glasnost, systematically informs party organizations of its activity, and liaises with the mass media. Members of the Central Control Commission regularly report to party organizations.

7. The RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission maintains the apparatus necessary for its work out of party budget funds and provides material and technical support for its activity. The resources for these purposes are determined at a joint plenum of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

8. Disagreements arising between the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission and Central Committee are resolved by conciliation commissions created on the basis of parity, and also at joint plenums or sessions of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Central Control Commission Presidium.

A joint decision is deemed to be adopted if at least two-thirds of the votes of members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission are cast in its favor during a separate vote.

9. The RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission adopts resolutions on questions falling within its remit, approves documents on the results of audits, and communicates them to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and the leaders of the audited institutions and enterprises, which must promptly inform it of measures taken.

Members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission are entitled to make use of all RSFSR Communist Party documents in the discharge of the functions envisaged by the CPSU Statutes and this statute.

Leningrad Rally Held on Switch to Market Economy

PM2109133390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by Captain First Class V. Gromak: "Dialogue in the Square"]

[Text] Leningrad—One feature of Leningrad at the moment is probably the fact that people there are going to rallies the way they go to work. That was the case Thursday [13 September] too. Leningraders started gathering in Palace Square long before the appointed time. They had come in response to an appeal from the Union of Labor Collectives that was recently set up in the city on the Neva. The subject of the rally was the following: People want to consult on how to live during the difficult period of transition to the market economy, and at the same time to ask the Leningrad City Soviet what it intends to do to stabilize the quite tense situation in the city.

How is the Leningrad City Soviet itself reacting to the situation?

"The situation in the city," A. Shchelkanov, chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee], "is exceptionally complex. In order to stabilize it we need harmonious joint work by all labor collectives and citizens without exception. We must seek a way out of the situation at each work place. So far we are by no means doing everything required by the situation. Certain labor collectives are concerned above all about their own prosperity and do not take account of the topical problems of other sectors of the population. There is no need to look far for examples. The Leningrad City Soviet is trying with great difficulty to find ways to improve the material position of war and labor veterans, blockade survivors, middle-level medical personnel, bakery enterprise workers, and students. Yet during this period motor transport workers have been threatening to strike if drivers' pay is not increased to 900-1,200 rubles a month."

The rally discussed with great concern the insufficiently effective implementation of conversion. A feature of Leningrad is the fact that one in every four citizens works at enterprises in the military-industrial complex which enjoy the benefits of modern technology and highly skilled cadres.

Hijacking Attempt Thwarted in Arkhangelsk

LD2509064390 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 25 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Chumakov]

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—The latest in a spate of recent Soviet hijackings was narrowly averted early this morning, an Interior Ministry spokesman told TASS.

On Monday night, a passenger on a Leningrad-Arkhangelsk flight demanded that the aircraft fly to Stockholm. He threatened to blow up the aircraft. The aircraft landed in Arkhangelsk for refueling, and the hijacker was captured.

The hijacker has been identified as Grigoriy Polyakov, 53, a resident of Khabarovsk territory in the Soviet Far East.

An investigation has begun.

Republic Introduces Higher Meat Prices

PM2409143590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 90 p 1

[G. Yevstifeyev TASS-attributed report: "New Price. Will There Be Any Meat?"]

[Text] The Russian Government has imposed an early increase in the purchase prices of meat products.

They increased 50 percent as of 15 September. This will cost the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic treasury 4 billion rubles. The emergency measures have been brought about by the approaching meat crisis in the republic.

What has influenced the exacerbation of this latest shortage?

The news of the Union increase being prepared for purchase prices as of January 1991 performed a misservice. Common sense suggested to economic managers that they not be in a hurry to dispatch livestock to meat combines.

Now they have no need to wait until 1 January to keep livestock any longer or to expend additional feed.

Komi Leaders Appeal to Moscow Over Food Supplies

PM2109152790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Telegram to the Country's Government"]

[Text] Syktyvkar—In connection with the worsening situation on the consumer market, particularly in the supply of foodstuffs to the population, the leaders of the Komi ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] have sent the USSR president, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers a telegram insisting that measures be taken without delay to observe the discipline of centralized stock deliveries of goods, particularly food. The telegram emphasizes that the republic is opposed to ultimatum methods of resolving problems. But unless order is instilled with regard to deliveries, the Komi ASSR will have to switch to exchanges in kind.

Passports Needed To Buy Food in Rostov-on-Don

LD2409165590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1451 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Summary] As of today, foodstuffs and industrial goods can be bought in Rostov-on-Don only on the presentation of one's passport. A decision to that effect has been taken by the town soviet of people's deputies. Later on it is planned to have vizitki [special cards which give those receiving them the opportunity to buy special things] printed for customers.

Independent Russian Trade Union Congress Ends

PM2109133990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by S. Chugayev: "Independent Trade Unions Applaud I. Polozkov"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] trade unions completed its work in Moscow 19 September. The main result of its work is the definitive assertion of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions.

To judge by the speech delivered at the congress by I. Klochkov, the federation's chairman, who worked until recently as an AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] secretary, this powerful organization—which has been joined by 74 oblast and kray trade union councils and 16 Russian sectorial trade unions—has been created in order to defend more reliably the interests of the Russian workers whose "socioeconomic interests are increasingly being pushed to one side of the historical process." For this, all existing trade union structures which have joined the federation are drastically altering the principles of their activity. Whereas before they were loyal intermediaries between the AUCCTU and the working people, helping to take instructions and orders from top to bottom, now everything is the other way around. Instructions will proceed from the bottom to the top.

The Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions intends in the period of transition to the market to seek the implementation of five principles or program tasks: to demand that the state create new work places and ensure employment; to seek the reduction of the working week to 38 hours; to establish wages and pensions which compensate for the rise in prices and inflation; to increase leave to four weeks; to saturate the consumer market with goods. The demands will undoubtedly find a response in the soul of every working person, particularly those who will not bother to consider on what... by what means it is actually possible to rapidly and immediately implement these fine principles. Actually, it looks as though that question does not bother the federation's leadership. Yet endless talks and compromises have already been programed into these "five principles." That is, very vigorous activity. But is it possible to call this activity the real "protection of interests?"

So what makes the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions attractive to the working people? Inasmuch as at the congress both the report and its discussion focused attention on ascertaining relations with the AUCCTU (mostly financial and property relations) it turns out that there is only one thing—the organization's complete independence of anyone whatsoever. Its absolute political and ideological sterility.

But the first doubts arose after I. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the congress. After stating that the party he heads is in favor of the transition to market relations, the speaker stated the possibility of the alteration of the social system as a result of this transition. He doubted that it would be better for workers if "the country is plunged into anarchy... if an opportunity is given to destroy the communist party... if ambitious people who despite the country break through to power." That

means, in the opinion of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, that the party has common interests and goals with the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Union. And "we will always be able to agree and to pool our efforts." And "we must not fear this merging of the functions of the party and the trade unions."

The congress harmoniously applauded Ivan Kuzmich and there were no questions about the compatibility of the concepts of "depoliticization and independence" and "the merging of functions."

The speech delivered at the congress by Ye. Khanin, chairman of the United Front of Russian Working People, who ex officio is also a member of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions, finally reinforced the initial doubts. Beginning by stating that the United Front of Working People—an organization known for its graphically expressed political face—was it turns out at the source of the creation of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions, one of its leaders later called for "the enterprising creation of organs of direct labor democracy in production, at plants, in institutes and higher educational establishments, on collective and state farms, and in military units." What for? To ensure that "in the event of any conflict or crisis situation we either join the local soviets to resolve common questions or decide to neutralize them if they are transformed from the organs of the working people into organs of shadowy capital, speculators, and mafioso."

Now it is not a question of the fact that in any rule-of-law democratic state an organization, after such words from its leader, would be immediately categorized as subversive and banned. It is a case of the political independence of the trade union association which has just been created. It very much looks as though it is just as far from it as it is from the working people's genuine interests.

The creation of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions was solemnly proclaimed in March. Literally immediately after this notable act a hot summer of strikes and industrial action and other labor conflicts began in the country, including in Russia. What was this if not an opportunity for the trade union movement to show itself as it was being renewed, to show what these "independent" and "depoliticized" unions could do? But in not one of the conflicts did we hear of the newly emerged organization.

It is logical to ask: Why then was it created? Especially as the strike committees and independent trade unions which have spontaneously emerged are, practice shows, coping quite successfully locally with this "protection of interests." Yet it turns out it was created out of the strike committees. Because, as I. Klochkov himself admitted, in the spring the "official" trade unions were faced with a question: either responding to the challenge or leaving the arena of public life. They probably do not want to leave the arena of public life.

Situation of Moscow Tent City Occupants Viewed

PM2109114990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by TASS special correspondent L. Kislinskaya under the rubric "Follow-Up": "Specific Impasse"]

[Text] Moscow—There is a perfectly real threat of an epidemic in Moscow. Disease could break out in a very specific place: not far from Red Square in the tent city outside the Rossiya Hotel. The fact that spontaneous encampments pose this kind of danger is revealed in the findings of N. Shestopalov, Moscow's chief health inspector.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA wrote about some of the problems of tent cities on 2 September 1990 in a report entitled "To the Accompaniment of Glasnost." New problems have now arisen. Although the makeshift polyethylene shelters have been unexpectedly replaced with brightly colored imported tents, someone falls ill here every day. There is nothing surprising about that—it has a lot to do with the wintry weather. And forgive me for mentioning it, but a public toilet is a rare phenomenon in our country, so some very specific smells are hanging over Red Square.

How would it have been possible to carry out the instructions of Moscow's chief health inspector and eliminate the tent city on 17 September? Unfortunately, there is no legal basis for this. On the other hand, you get the impression that the people who have gathered to pass the winter outside the Kremlin walls are not really anyone's concern, apart from the militia's. They protect the petitioners against hooligan attack (and there have been attacks), question them about the problems which have brought them to Moscow, and appeal to the authorities on whom a solution depends. Letters have been sent to the Moscow mayor, his deputy, and the leadership of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, in particular. So far no replies have been forthcoming. No headway is being made with the problem despite the fact that members of the public prosecutor's office have made contact with the petitioners. Perhaps the special deputies' commission, which a recent session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet decided to form, will help to solve the problem.

But at the moment nothing has changed. On the one hand, the militia are being forced to take care of people who are in breach of three articles of the RSFSR Administrative Code: violation of sanitation and hygiene norms, of passport regulations, and of the procedure for registering persons arriving in Moscow. On the other hand, most of the transgressors—whom you can perceive simply as fellow human beings—are armed with something resembling safe-conduct documents issued by A. Kuzin, a people's deputy of the Moscow City Soviet and chairman of the Subcommission for the Protection of Civil Rights.

You also get the impression that the plaintiffs enjoy playing the role of martyr, although many of them have been turned down on totally legitimate grounds. Forgive me for saying so, but some people in this crowd are quite frankly strange. Add to this the fact that a centralized food distribution system has now been organized and the attention of the press—including the foreign press—guaranteed. This can be exploited. Take the woman, trying to get her criminal record annulled, who willingly poses in front of the television cameras. As a celebrity she allows herself to be capricious: She has been given a four-room apartment in the place where she is registered but she does not like the rayon. Another woman is demanding an investigation into the causes of V. Vysotskiy's death. A matter which—with all due respect to the poet's memory—is not of such vital importance to her that she should have to await its outcome beneath the Kremlin walls. Another resident of the tent city is demanding an investigation into cases of plagiarism in literature and art. All the petitioners believe that if they have the support of some elected representatives of the people then all soviet power must be on their side.

Any suggestions? You cannot complain about the militia failing to get rid of the tent city because internal affairs bodies need decisions to be able to act. But, as I have said, those on whom these decisions depend are keeping quiet. Clearly, as far as the politicians are concerned this measure would not be popular at present. At the same time, some elected representatives of the people are blatantly trying to replace party diktat with deputy diktat. Surely you cannot hand out safe-conduct documents without being answerable for anything? And just how legal are these papers anyway? But that is a question for the leadership of the Moscow City Public Prosecutor's Office.

While building a rule-of-law state and drafting new laws, we must not disregard the old laws which many people simply no longer respect. Otherwise there will be chaos. If people are satisfying some need virtually beneath the Kremlin walls and there is no possibility of calling them to order, this means that we are on the threshold of an anarchic society rather than a rule-of-law state.

Moscow Soviet Publishes New Weekly Newspaper

PM2409124590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report under general heading: "In Brief"]

[Text] Yesterday the first issue of the newspaper KURANTY [THE GAZETTE] established by the Moscow City Soviet came out. It is exclusively an information newspaper. An exception has been made for Moscow City Soviet Chairman G. Popov, an interview with whom opens the issue. At the moment KURANTY is a weekly, but from the beginning of next year it will come out daily.

Shortages Mean Late Paper Publication in Altay

PM2109151590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Subscribers' Rights in Jeopardy"]

[Text] Barnaul—Interruptions in deliveries of central newspapers to Altay subscribers have become particularly noticeable during the days of the subscription campaign.

Owing to a lack of the nitric acid used to produce the newspaper pages received by phototelegraph, the local publishing house is now printing central newspapers from matrices. They are flown to Barnaul from Moscow which results in long delays. And if you take the time difference into account, the kray's inhabitants only get to read IZVESTIYA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and other publications two or three days after the newspapers were published.

PRAVDA is the newspaper delivered most irregularly to the Altay. This has aroused the concern of readers and subscribers. In order to get to the bottom of the situation that has come about, they gathered at Barnaul CPSU City Committee and demanded explanations. But V. Grokhotov, director of the "Altayskaya Pravda" Publishing House, and P. Bratchun, head of the "Pravda" Publishing House's Altay branch, were unable to promise anything comforting. Production of PRAVDA is once again on the verge of disruption—there is no paper of the requisite format.

The meeting participants adopted a demand that the CPSU Central Committee intervene in the extremely complex situation and ensure guarantees of subscribers' rights.

Islamic Party Set Up in Dagestan Republic

LD2509092290 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] An Islamic democratic party has been founded in the autonomous republic of Dagestan, in the northern Caucasus. It was set up to fight against any totalitarian ideology and to revive Islam. The party favors a society based on law, party pluralism, and democracy, and advocates Dagestan's economic sovereignty within the Russian Federation to implement its program the party will press for the resignation of the Dagestan government, for dissolving the parliament, and for holding new elections on a multiparty platform.

Nizhnenovgorod Seeks Independent Status

LD2409155290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] The Nizhnenovgorod town soviet of people's deputies has adopted a decision at their second session which says that Nizhnenovgorod [Gorkiy] should be

considered an independent entity of the Russian Federation equal to Nizhnenovgorod [Gorkiy] Oblast. Our correspondent Aleksandr Tsirulnikov reports:

[Tsirulnikov] In other words, Nizhnenovgorod is emerging from oblast subordination and becoming an independent, free town, and thereby in legal terms it is resigning the functions of the oblast center, leaving the oblast merely with the right to use the town's name. I asked Doctor of Economic Sciences Oleg Pavlovich Korobeynikov, a member of the predisium of the town soviet and a deputy to that soviet as well as a professor at the construction engineering institute, to comment.

[Korobeynikov] No doubt your first question would be what the town gains from this. The town must resolve the problems of forming communal property. Why? Not in order to take it from one owner to become an owner itself but so as to carry out active privatization of property, removing it from the state, and to implement the 500 days program.

[Tsirulnikov] How are relations with the oblast soviet, indeed with the oblast itself to be developed? After all, the town is the center of one of Russia's most important oblasts.

[Korobeynikov] We have always had a vertical system which we build up over many decades. The administrative command format resulted, which works to suppress social and economic development whereas now we are emancipating this. In other words, relations with the oblast soviet will primarily be constructed on the basis of partnership, on the basis of a mutual delegating of powers, with the aim of developing agriculture and stepping up economic activity. We cannot, for example, revive the Nizhnenovgorod Fair without the active participation of the oblast soviet.

[Tsirulnikov] No doubt the whole of Russia needs to be involved in this.

[Korobeynikov] That is right. I must tell you that we have written up a resolution to invite the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers to be one of the cofounders of the Nizhnenovgorod Fair and we hope that this too will give a certain impetus to the revival of this center of international trade. It would first provide an opportunity to import goods without customs duties; and second, taxation would be preferential and it would undoubtedly be one venture on the way toward a convertible ruble.

[Tsirulnikov] The Nizhnenovgorod town soviet is submitting its decision for confirmation by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Absenteeism 'Torpedoed' Vorkuta Miners Conference

LD2409161690 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta September 24 TASS—A poor turnout has torpedoed a miners' conference which was to be held here today. Many representatives of enterprises and organisations from this Arctic coal mining centre were absent. There were particularly few workers. The organisational committee and those present decided to postpone the conference to October 1st. They drew up measures to prepare the function more thoroughly.

"The failure of the conference is an alarming indication that the social and political activity of Vorkuta miners, particularly of the rank-and-file, is waning," Chairman of the Vorkuta City Workers' Committee Nikolay Yushkov told TASS.

The conference was to discuss very important problems, particularly the socio-political situation in the country and the city. Vorkuta miners insist on the resignation of the Soviet Government, demand the recall of parliament deputies and the holding of pre-term elections to the country's parliament, whose functions in present-day conditions must be defined more definitely, they believe. They also demand the elaboration of a procedure to recall people's deputies.

The future conference is also to discuss the place and role of trade unions in Soviet society, to set up permanent workers' squads to enforce law and order in Vorkuta, outline the labour movements relations' with the mass media.

Kalinin Oblast Prisoners Call Off Hunger Strike

LD2309192190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] The conflict in the Rzhev corrective-labor colony in Kalinin oblast, which has been going on for 2 days, has been settled. The prisoners stopped their hunger strike and decided to go work on Monday.

It all started when all the prisoners in the colony refused to accept any food and to go to work as a mark of protest against the difficult living conditions. They put forward a series of demands ranging from a halting of the administration's insults to an improvement of food. [Kirilov,] Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputy, talked with the desperate convicts for five hours. It proved possible to resolve a series of issues concerning living conditions, services for prisoners, and feeding the prisoners and to reach agreement, he told a TASS correspondent. However he became convinced that there are problems which demand fundamental changes in corrective-labor institutions. They must be directed toward making relations with the prisoners more humane, and removing all types of absurd regulations which demean people.

Irkutsk Obkom First Secretary Reassigned

PM2409132190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Irkutsk, 21 Sep—Yesterday's Irkutsk CPSU Obkom [oblast committee] plenum examined an organizational question. The plenum satisfied V.I. Potapov's request to be released from his duties as party obkom first secretary in connection with his election as chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies.

It has been decided to hold the election of a new leader of the Angara region Communists after a discussion in the primary, rayon, and city party organizations.

New Tatar Obkom First Secretary Elected

PM2409133790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "On Alternative Basis"]

[Text] Kazan, 21 Sep—The conference of the Tatar party organization which ended today examined an organizational question.

In connection with the election of M. Shaymiyev, first secretary of the CPSU Obkom [oblast committee] as chairman of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, the delegates elected a new leader for the republican party organization. R. Idiatullin, who has worked as a secretary of this obkom, was elected on an alternative basis as first secretary of the Tatar CPSU Obkom.

Kemerovo Obkom First Secretary Replaced

LD2209195590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] At the Kemerovo Oblast party conference an organizational question was examined today. The conference ratified the decision of the CPSU obkom [oblast committee] plenum which took place yesterday on releasing Melnikov from the post of first secretary of the party's oblast committee in connection with his election as a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party.

The elections to first secretary were on a multi-candidate basis. Three candidates were entered on the list for the secret ballot. Zaytsev, who worked before that as the first secretary of the Belovo town party committee, was elected first secretary of the Kemerovo Oblast CPSU committee.

Rail Workers Block Attempts To Export Coal

PM2109161990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Report from Odessa by A. Vengruk and V. Zaytsev; from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] Food and tobacco, construction materials and video equipment, medicinal drugs and foreign equipment—this is what Vorkuta miners were hoping to obtain in exchange for above-plan coal. They may even have already decided how they would distribute these goods. Alas, as the saying goes, there will not be enough cake for everyone this time. The railroad has banned the transportation of part of the coal to Yuzhnyy port near Odessa and the ship waiting in vain for the cargo will deprive the miners of several tens of thousands of dollars worth of foreign goods.

[Announcer] People cannot understand why the railroad should be able to censor economic contracts concluded by miners. But this is exactly what is happening.

Problems Facing RSFSR River Fleet Noted

PM2409110990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Report by O. Bobin and V. Dubov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] During the last century the first steamer set off from here down the Moskva River. This marked the beginning of a new stage in shipping.

The Russian fleet is now demonstrating that it is ready to set off on another voyage down a river called "the market."

Twenty-one shipping lines and navigation services have set up the Rossrechflot concern.

[L.V. Bagrov, chairman of the concern's board] Everyone understands that many problems will persist in market conditions, problems which can be better resolved jointly. They include such key issues as the maintenance and operation of interbasin links like the Volga-Baltic Canal, the Volga-Don Canal, the Moskva-Volga Canal, and other installations which are the pride of Russia. It would be difficult to maintain and operate them single-handedly. There is also the transportation of goods to the Far North and expansion into coastal shipping.

[Reporter] Will you have to operate in market conditions with fixed tariffs?

[Bagrov] The problem is that state regulation of tariffs is envisaged everywhere while prices for everything that transport needs—fuel, metal, materials, and equipment—will be free or agreed by contract. Thus costs will rise while incomes will remain fixed.

[Reporter] I read here in the prospectus that diesel engines from Magdeburg are a reliable partner for captains and senior engineers between the Black and the Barents Seas and on the Volga, Don, and Lena Rivers.

This year invoices are still being settled in transfer rubles. But what about next year?

[W. Packebusch, GDR, speaking through interpreter] As of 1 January 1991, trade with the Soviet Union will be conducted in foreign currency, in Deutschmarks.

[Reporter] Of 50,000 diesel engines imported by our country, 20,000 are installed on river ships. Now spare

parts will have to be bought with foreign currency. Where is this to come from? And there are many problems of this kind.

This is why the first step towards the market was the organization of this exhibition and fair. The river fleet workers not only have a fleet which numbers many thousands of ships, they also have ship repair yards and scientific resources belonging to their sector. The ships built by Moscow shipbuilders sell well abroad. Novosibirsk designers are offering technology will which double piston lifetime. Enterprises of the Northern Shipping Line produce furniture. There are many useful exhibits. The fair shows that the market is helping to identify many reserves.

Deep-Water Quays Under Construction in Nakhodka

PM2109144190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Report by O. Padenko and A. Yushchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Development of the Nakhodka merchant port has begun without halting the main flow of freight.

[Reporter] To begin with these two new quays—Nos. 9 and 10—will be commissioned. Others will follow later. Their overall length will total more than 2 km along the entire northern shore of Nakhodka Bay. The bay is relatively deep, but right here by the shore the water is not deep enough for large-tonnage ships. However, in connection with the establishment of the free economic zone, dry cargo ships with a displacement of up to 30,000 tonnes are expected to berth here. And so the quay has to be moved 58 meters into the sea. This is not an easy task. At first, in the cramped conditions of a busy port, the construction workers had to dredge out a thick layer of silt to reach firm ground. Then 18 meter-long piles have to be driven in. Wherever there is no access for the floating pile driver, pneumatic hammers are being used. There is plenty of work for both machines and people. Yet the Far East specialist builders have promised to commission the first quays as early as next year, complete with mechanized warehouse facilities and transshipment conveyor lines. This will make it possible to increase the freight turnover of the Nakhodka international merchant seaport several-fold.

Dimitrovgrad 'Earthquake' Triggered by Blasting

PM2109131990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent N. Senchev under the rubric "Investigating an Emergency": "Secret That Cost a Pretty Penny...."]

[Text] Ulyanovsk Oblast—In mid to late June there was an earthquake in Dimitrovgrad where, as is well known, there is a nuclear reactor research institute. The quake was clearly felt by inhabitants of the city. However, seismological stations registered no underground tremors.

The alarmed population linked this mysterious emergency with the experimental reactors located in the city. There were demands: "Close them down, dismantle them, take them away!" PRAVDA carried a report on this from your correspondent entitled "If Not an Earthquake, Then What Was It?"

This question has now been answered. It turns out that near Dimitrovgrad the USSR Ministry of Geology's Bazhenovskaya Geophysical Expedition (based in Sverdlovsk) was carrying out test explosions with a yield of up to 420 kg of TNT. Anyway, the mini-earthquakes created a major panic. We ask: Why did the geophysicists not inform the city's leadership of their explosions in good time? After all, there is a definite procedure requiring that an application for a test explosion be made, indicating the yield, time, and location.

"That is not all! When we questioned Sverdlovsk," V. Pisarchuk, chairman of the Dimitrovgrad City Soviet, explained, "the geophysical expedition leadership said nothing. So we were forced to turn to scientists in the capital on the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Emergencies.

The work of the government commission and the scientists who came to Dimitrovgrad cost 70,000 rubles. It would be fair if the cost were borne by the culprits.

Western Republics

Belorussian Premier Views Economic Sovereignty

LD2509091790 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 25 Sep 90

[By TASS Correspondent Tatyana Khryapina]

[Text] Minsk September 25 TASS—The Belorussian Government has worked out a package of organisational and practical measures to implement the "Belorussian concept" of economic sovereignty.

"The government rejects the variant of the transition to a market economy based on the idea of joint competence of the Union and Belorussia," republican Prime Minister Vyachelsav Kebich told TASS.

"We believe it would lead again to the broadening of rights of Union bodies to the detriment of the sovereignty of Belorussia which existed before. The republic should itself determine the structure of its economy and distribute industiral products and profits."

First, the government has decided to decentralise property, privatise the economy, and support entrepreneurship. At least 50 to 60 large machine-building and chemical enterprises will become joint-stock companies. Some 25 to 30 percent of light industry and construction enterprises will be leased.

Half of all trade, services, and food industry enterprises will be bought out or owned by their employees. The Government is planning to do away with shortages of goods in Belorussia by reducing their export from the republic—special cheque-books will be introduced for residents of the republic.

The government plan for the transition to market relations will be submitted for the consideration of the Belorussian parliament in November.

Moldavian Minister Discusses Foreign Relations

LD2409130790 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev September 24 TASS—"The Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic is the main instrument to ensure the republic's emergence on the international arena," new Foreign Relations Minister Nikolay Tsyu told TASS.

"According to the parliamentary declaration on Moldova's sovereignty, it is to become an independent subject of international relations. In view of this, the ministry is promoting from the very outset direct relations with different countries. Intergovernmental agreements have already been concluded with such African states as Burkina Faso, Burundi and Botswana.

"In the new political and economic situation, Moldova must have direct relations not only horizontally—with sovereign subjects of the Soviet federation or future confederation, but also vertically—with all the nations of the world. We have to overcome the now existing universal stereotype identifying the USSR only with Russia, the situation when very few people know about the other Union republics.

"A delegation of our ministry recently returned from Turkey," Tsyu said. "We had many useful meetings with the Turkish minister for industry and commerce, and also with representatives of local business circles.

"An agreement was reached to sign several contracts after a detailed discussion of the methods and principles that are to underlie our economic cooperation. They provide for the launching of joint ventures to produce original packaging materials for moldovian juices and wines, which are competitive on the world market. Turkish businessmen are also prepared to exchange with us their experience of going over to a free market economy."

"At present we are considering concrete [word indistinct] to establish mutually profitable cooperation with America," Tysu said. An agreement has already been reached to exchange students and specialists and on the advanced training of young scientists in American schools. With the help of U.S. firms we plan to regear a computer plant, now under construction in Moldova, to manufacture modern personal computers.

Gagauz, Dnestr Continue Fight for Sovereignty

LD2409193390 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS—TASS correspondents Anatloiy Gol and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev September 24 TASS—The situation in Moldavia, the republic in the south-west of the USSR, remains complex. Leaders of the Gagauz and the Dnestr republics proclaimed in an unconstitutional way are not yet going to abrogate their decisions. Meanwhile ever stronger demands are made in the Moldavian capital Kishinev to the republic's government and parliament to make those who split Moldavia bear the responsibility.

In support of these demands the Democratic Youth of Moldavia organisation held the other day a rally in Kishinev's main square. Participants in the rally made an attempt to picket the building of the Moldavian KGB and blocked traffic in the city's main thoroughfare. But this action was disrupted largely due to the effors of Moldavian people's deputies. Addressing demonstrators and appearing on national television Mayor of Kishinev Nikolae Kostin and People's Deputy Nikifor Koshanu called on the people of Kishinev fully to trust the government and parliament of the republic and keep from ill-considered, unsanctioned actions.

Koshanu emphasised that the abrogation of the decisions to proclaim the Gagauz and the Dnestr union republics, the decisions contradicting law, should be sought by parliamentary methods without violating law.

A meeting of deputies of all the five levels in the districts in the south of Moldavia, included in the composition of the so-called Gagauz republic, was held in the Basarabeasca district. The participants in the meeting unanimously condemned the attempts at the division of Moldavia and adopted a number of calls to the population and the republic's leadership. They include the calls to bring to responsibility those who formed the new republics and to take more vigorous steps to preserve Moldavia's territorial integrity.

The declaration adopted by the meeting welcomes the conclusion of the treaty between Moldavia and Russia but at the same time urges the government to refrain any negotiations with the centre until it recognises Moldavia's complete sovereignty and ensures guarantees of non-interference in its internal affairs. The declaration also urges other Union republics and states to deny recognition to the Gagauz and Dnestr republics.

Minsk City Council Issues Decision on Emblems

LD2209141390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0758 GMT 22 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk, 22 Sep (TASS)—The Presidium of the City Council of People's Deputies of Minsk, the capital of Belorussia, has made a decision on the use of Belorussian national emblems: the white-red-white flag and the "Pogonya" coat of arms. The "Pogonya" emblem adorns one of the oldest state legal documents on the status of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in which Belorussians made up the majority of the population of the time.

Attempts of the Belorussian People's Front "Rebirth" officially to use the emblems and above all the white-red-white flag did not, however, meet with approval from part of the republic's population, and particularly elderly people who lived through World War II. The fact is that during the Hitlerite occupation of Belorussia, some collaborators used the national emblems.

The city council decision has an advisory nature. Every citizen, labor collective, and state or public organization is free independently to decide its attitude on the white-red-white flag and "Pogonya" coat of arms. According to the new city authorities, this approach should meet democratic aspirations.

Official Reports Martial Law Planned for Lvov

LD2509085390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Last week at many secret meetings, representatives of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Carpathian Military District Command considered introducing martial law [stan wojenny] in Lvov Oblast. In Lvov region the regrouping of forces is being observed. Leave for officers has been canceled. KGB forces have been placed on heightened alert. Yevgeniy Grinev [name as heard], chairman of the People's Control Committee, speaking at a Lvov Oblast Council of Deputies Session, said the aim of martial law would be the removal of the present oblast leadership. The overhwhelming majority of the leadership is made up of adherents of the Ukrainian movement. An Army representative taking part in the meeting denied Grinev's revelations.

Ukrainian Strike, Mass Rally Planned for 1 Oct

LD2509123990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 25 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

An all-Ukrainian strike is planned for 1 October. On this day, a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet is to open, and the same day a gathering of about 1 million people in Kiev is planned. The demands are as follows: a firm no to the new Union treaty; the nationalization of the property of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the CPSU; the depoliticization of enterprises, the Army, the KGB, and Interior Ministry; citizens of the Ukraine to ensure Army service on the republic's territory; the halting and closing down of the Chernobyl plant; and the removal of enterprises from state control and their transfer to work collectives, without their having to purchase assets. The member of the strike committee says that unless all these demands are considered two weeks later the all-Ukrainian strike will be continued and will demand the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine.

Ukrainian Democratic Association Elects Leader

LD2409152490 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Adam Yanushevskiy]

[Text] Kiev September 24 TASS—The second conference of the Association of Democratic Councils and Democratic Blocs in Ukrainian local government bodies has ended in Zhitomir.

This organisation, which includes representatives of local councils from almost 40 towns of the Ukraine, as well as several people's deputies of the USSR and the Ukrainian Republic, was set up at a constituent conference held in Dneprodzerzhinsk on July 28-29.

The Zhitomir conference discussed transition to a market economy, the creation of a special fund for the Ukraine's development, economic ties with foreign partners and cultural exchanges with the Ukrainian Diaspore. It also discussed problems linked with the drafting of alternative copyright bills of the Ukrainian Republic and on the military service of Ukrainian citizens.

The conference approved the association's charter and regulations, elected a coordination council headed by people's deputy of the USSR Sergey Konev. A decision was also passed to open its own newspaper on the basis of the newspaper "GOLOS GROMADYANINA" (CITIZEN'S VOICE) which now comes out in Zhitomir.

In its appeal to people's deputies of the USSR and the Ukraine, to local government bodies and all the citizens of the republic, the conference demanded the resignation of the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the republic's prime minister and the Ukrainian Government, the dissolution of the Communist Party and the nationalisation of its property.

It called for a law on local self-government and the raising of the declaration on the Ukraine's state sovereignty to the status of a law.

"If these demands are not met," the appeal says, "the association will strive for the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Republic."

Ukrainian People's Party Supports Privatization

LD2409140390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 24 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A so-called Ukrainian People's Party [Narodnaya Partiya Ukrainy] has just been set up. It is headed by Gaburyanskiy, a people's deputy from the republic and chairman of the Alim cooperative.

[Begin L.I. Gaburyanskiy recording] the party is setting as its main task the implementation as quickly as possible of the transition from the featureless belonging of enterprises to the state toward the privatization of property—that is, doing things in such a way that enterprises, establishments, and organizations should belong to the people who work at them. [end recording]

Boyko Elected First Secretary of Ternopol Obkom

PM2009121390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[UKRINFORM-TASS report under the "Streamer" rubric: "Party Conference Held"]

[Text] Ternopol, 17 Sep—The main areas of the oblast party organization's activity in fulfilling the 28th CPSU Congress decisions were discussed at the second stage of the Ternopol Oblast Party Conference.

The oblast party organization's leading organs were elected. In the course of a secret ballot I.D. Boyko, who had been performing the duties of chairman of the oblast people's control committee, was elected first secretary of Ternopol Oblast Party Committee on a multiple candidate basis.

Zaporozhye Oblast Facing Sugar Shortages

PM1909153190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Report by G. Klimov and A. Senin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The coupon system of distribution has led to disruption in Zaporozhye: Sugar is still not on sale there.

[Correspondent] You would think that a coupon was a guarantee. But people in Zaporozhye bring their coupons to the stores only to see the sign "No sugar." Why bother? The situation will not improve. Trade workers have the difficult job of explaining things to customers. They find themselves at the sharp end of this sugar shortage, even though it is not their fault. There were excessive sales of sugar in Zaporozhye last year as well. The trading system has had problems this year too. There are no stocks of sugar in the city—they are getting their supplies straight from the delivery trucks. June coupons had still not been redeemed in August.

[V.F. Kholyavko, department chief at the oblast trade administration] The reason we do not have any sugar is because of the irregular supplies from the sugar plants. Currently measures are being taken. We are getting sugar from state reserves. From Donetsk Oblast, Kharkov Oblast, and Kiev Oblast—from Mironovka. In order to reassure people just a little, in practice we are bringing in supplies ourselves by road. But the demand is such that people have not been reassured. In practice this has been caused by the fact that, whether we like it or not, there are black-market coupons circulating. That is to say that too many have been printed; this is happening in Zaporozhye, Berdyansk, and Melitopol.

[Correspondent] It is probably easier for Zaporozhye people to buy sugar coupons than actual sugar these days. The small squares of paper are selling for five rubles on the black market. It has been calculated that 100,000 people redeem these black-market coupons every month. That is 150 tonnes of sugar. This was revealed by checks carried out by the People's Control Committee. In this situation it is not the government that people should be appealing to, but the local authorities who should be instilling order on their own territory.

Gorlovka Allows Private Trade in Vegetables

PM2009135990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Correspondent Nikolay Lisovenko report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Vegetable Trade Goes Private"]

[Text] Gorlovka—The vegetable trade in Gorlovka has been transferred to lessees and owners of small trade enterprises.

Having exhausted the entire arsenal of traditional methods of rectifying matters, the city soviet presidium decided to give collectives, families, and individuals the right to buy vegetable stocks for independent commercial activities.

Workers' supply departments will maintain existing supplies of agricultural produce to the owners of small trade enterprises from stocks on conditions that they are sold at state prices.

The first vegetable retailers' stores will appear in a week's time.

Moscow TV Profiles Ukrainian Cooperative

PM2009140790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report by V. Lyashko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Small cooperatives are beginning the process of moving on from lack of coordination and fragmentation to unity. The result is that the "Plastik" Scientific and Economic Association is attracting growing attention from businessmen within the country and in the West.

[Lyashko] The association, which emerged from a small Lvov cooperative two years ago, today comprises an amalgamation of 50 small enterprises working in Kiev, Zhitomir, Chernovtsy, and other cities in the Ukraine. One of the association's distinctive features is the fact

that it is made up of enterprises with diverse forms of ownership—cooperatives, family and lease collectives, mixed, state, and cooperative enterprises. No more than 10 people work at each one. The association only produces consumer goods—spare parts for automobiles, fittings and components for light industry enterprises, various small household goods of vital importance in everyday life but not viable for industry to produce. It also provides nontraditional types of services. Roughly 500 people are employed by the association. This year the volume of output produced will total almost 25 million rubles [R]. The assimilation of new products, including domestic and radioelectronic goods, will make it possible to increase output production to R150 million next year. The association, which is as yet untypical of our economy, has in two years proved its justifiability and promise. That is why "AvtoVAZ," an industrial giant in our country, signed a contract at an exhibition in Lvov with the association for the supply of several spare parts that it no longer produces.

Kharkov Youth Newspaper Changes Languages

LD2309181890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] The editorial office of the Kharkov youth newspaper LENINSKAYA SMENA has been subjected to a real siege. Representatives of many public associations, including Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka], have expressed their indignation at the fact that from the new year the newspaper will be published not in Ukrainian, as it always has been, but in the Russian language. The Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] oblast committee explained that LENINSKAYA SMENA in Ukrainian has become very unprofitable.

Caucasus

Armenian Situation 'Returning to Normal'

PM2009154990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 90 p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Aloyan under the rubric: "Armenia: Chronicle of the Week": "No Shooting. A Good Thing"]

[Text] Yerevan—Life in Yerevan is gradually returning to normal. You do not hear shooting in the streets, you do not see bearded armed men driving around in vehicles without license plates. True the curfew is still in operation, yet no longer from 2200 but from 2300. And no serious violations have been recorded during its existence since the restrictions are aimed not against late-returning citizens but against criminals. Perhaps this is why, however paradoxical it seems, Yerevan's inhabitants approve of its introduction. In their work with members of armed groups the representatives of law enforcement organs, militiamen from detachments for the protection of public order, and republic people's deputies are putting the emphasis on painstaking explanatory work. After the Armenian National Army's disbandment, the Republican Party leadership announced the voluntary disbandment of its military wing. Over 20 armed groups have announced the voluntary ending of their activities. Thirty-eight hail guns and mortars, 150 combat weapons, over 10,000 pieces of ammunition—grenades, mines, shells—1,500 kg of explosives, and a large quantity of motor transport and military equipment have been surrendered. But force is being used against those who do not heed the voice of reason. On 9 and 10 September two bandit formations surrendered only after truly fierce battles. The leader of one of them was killed in the firefight, a recidivist convicted of murder and rape who has terrorized residents of the Ararat valley in recent months.

It has already been said above that you do not encounter vehicles without license plates in the streets. However, there are also few vehicles with license plates. There is no gasoline. If you are very lucky you can buy it from speculators, but at a price of 2 rubles [R] a liter. There has not been any gas for 22 days. In neighboring Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon the gas pipeline supplying fuel from Russia to Armenia has been tightly sealed. The republic has been forced to switch to using its scant reserve stocks, which is tantamount to a catastrophe given the approach of winter and the plight of the disaster zone. Many of the republic's industrial enterprises have been forced to shut down through lack of fuel. Already the economic damage is estimated at R70 million.

Food store shelves are empty. Prices at markets are exorbitant. As everywhere, there are no cigarettes. The people grumble but have no intention of rioting. In conditions of the approaching market is it necessary to tighten the belt a bit more and work for better prospects? But prospects which are evidently not imminent.... In the words of V. Manukyan, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, the main plank of whose program is to switch Armenia to a mixed economy, the republic's economy is in such a state that no significant improvement in the situation can be expected in the near future.

While the overall situation in the republic is moving toward stabilization, the Communist Party on the contrary is manifestly experiencing a growing crisis. Official data are not published but people in the know claim that resignations from the party and deliberate nonpayment of party dues have reached crisis level. The search is on for ways of saving not just the party's prestige but the party itself. However, there is no unity of views. A few days ago the republic press published the draft program of the Communist Party of Armenia (Independent). This is a serious document requiring profound analysis, but for now its main points can be mentioned—the principle of democratic centralism is rejected and a diversity of forms of ownership is supported, including private property. "The formation of the Communist Party of Armenia (Independent)," the document's foreword says, "will make it possible to use all healthy forces for the

good of the Armenian people" and to realize the potential which the "CPSU's totalitarian nature impedes."

The draft's authors, and they include representatives of a number of Yerevan's major organizations, explain that the new party will essentially be social democratic. Will the "independents" win or does a split await the Communist Party? There is not long to wait for the answer. The Armenian Communist Party Congress begins 25 September. It has been decided that the congress will be broken off in order to hold a partywide referendum in which Communists will answer two questions—on their attitude to the CPSU and on changing the party's name.

The action undertaken by writer and commentator Zoriy Balayan, USSR people's deputy from the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], has provoked a wide reaction in the republic. He declared a hunger strike in Moscow 9 September. He formulated his demand as follows: "Aware of all the responsibility of the step I am taking, I declare a hunger strike to protest the abolition of constitutional power in Nagorno-Karabakh."

The hunger strike was joined Friday by V. Grigoryan, people's deputy from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; and also Armenian Deputies S. Sarkisyan, USSR people's artist; and the 82-year-old V. Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian Academy of Sciences and twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

The republic's parliamentary session broke off for a week and the deputies worked in commissions. And Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan flew to Moscow for a meeting with Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin.

Militia Notes Improved Situation

PM2509102590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent S. Bablumyan: "Yerevan: Militia Return to Posts"]

[Text] There is a kind of "changeover" on Yerevan's streets toward midnight: The last passersby hurry home, automobiles park, and militia subunits and their attached self-defense detachments go on duty at key intersections and all the entry and exit points from the city. This is the time of the curfew.

As is well known, the curfew was introduced in Yerevan on the night of 20 August—this was a rare case when city residents unanimously supported such a drastic restriction of liberties for two reasons: The rampant unpunished crime had gone too far, and it had been decided to put their house in order themselves.

Here are a few brief sketches from life drawn after the introduction of the curfew. At night you no longer hear shots and submachinegun fire in Yerevan. You do not encounter young and not so young people on the streets carrying weapons. Vehicles without license plates do not race around the city at breakneck speed frightening pedestrians. City intersections and highways that had been almost left to the mercy of fate once again have come under the command of State Automobile Inspectorate inspectors. As a result people have an increasing sense of protection and faith in the force of law and order.

But what do city militia personnel themselves think about this?

Georgiy Pogosyan, chief of Sovetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department:

"I will not dispute the fact that for a long time the militia was inactive and helpless. Why was this able to occur? Yes, two officers were killed during attacks on our Rayon Internal Affairs Department and many weapons were seized. Of course this was bound to affect the moral and psychological state of the personnel. It is no coincidence that approximately 10 department staffers left our ranks at the most difficult time. But the main reason for the demoralization among the militia was that people had turned away from us.

"Criminal and lumpen elements were able to make immediate, extremely skillful use of our powerlessness. Posing as 'defenders of the people,' they were unfortunately able to persuade people that they were seizing weapons for their good. It was only when these weapons were used against the people themselves and when the troubled wave of violence and terror arose that suspicion set in. People said: That is enough. We have had enough of senseless casualties and demagoguery. Everyone backed the resolute actions taken by the republic's parliament."

Genrikh Sarkisyan, chief of Mashtotskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department:

"The situation in our rayon is becoming stable—that is clear. We are now spending more time on investigation work and returning stolen vehicles. Above all those that were stolen from the parking lot outside the 'AvtoVAZ' store—more than 50 new Zhigulis were taken from there. But our main concern is to recover the captured weapons and munitions. It is, admittedly, premature to speak of success."

Here are the comments made by Sergey Atarbekyan, chief of Yerevan City Internal Affairs Administration:

"The Yerevan militia are indeed finally emerging from the protracted crisis and restoring their good name. I will repeat the idea voiced by many of my colleagues: Our strength lies only in the people's support, we are increasingly aware of that. The republic and its capital have been experiencing conditions of powerlessness, if not anarchy, for all too long. Force of law has been supplanted by force of arms and it easy to imagine the possible results if the Supreme Soviet had not taken the extreme but totally justified step of introducing a state of emergency. We realize that mastering the crime situation

will take several months. However, we have achieved the first results and they are encouraging."

Levon Ter-Petrosyan Meets Media Representatives

NC2209162490 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 21 Sep (ARMENPRES)—On 19 September Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic, met with the heads of the republican newspapers, periodicals, State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasts, and state information agency, as well as with the correspondents of the central papers assigned to Armenia.

He spoke about the need for extensive and productive use of the republic's mass media to enhance of our new statehood and to present the republic's views to the soviet and international public. He said that we are now at a crucial stage when we should back away from group and party rostrums and do everything for the unity of the nation. [passage omitted]

Levon Ter-Petrosyan also commented on measures the republican mass media could take in response to the biased reportage by the Azerbaijani and central press. He pointed out that these measures should be organized and coordinated. We should not assume a defensive position. Rather we should communicate the truth and our stance to the public, frustrate attempts to trample upon the national dignity of the Armenian people, and counter every allegation. [passage omitted]

Shatalin Tours NKAO; Troops To End Intervention

NC2309120090 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Stepanakert, 21 Sep (ARMENPRES)—As was already reported, Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, commander of the internal troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, was in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] during these turbulent days. He visited Martuninskiy Rayon on 17 September and the next day he had an almost 20-minute meeting in Stepanakert with the leaders of the city and rayon party committees.

Valeriy Atadzhanyan, first secretary of the Stepanakert city party committee, told ARMENPRES that the commander told them that the internal troops have been instructed not to interfere in political affairs and to strictly fulfill the functions of protecting the population. Yuriy Shatalin expressed the view that the constitutional power and administration structures in NKAO must be restored. He also considered the presence of the Union Monitoring and Observation Commission in NKAO highly desirable.

This time around one cannot but agree with the general. However, it is not yet clear if these sober views, and in particular the views expressed in the infamous 28 November 1989 decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will be transformed into concrete acts. As long as the present lawlessness persists in NKAO one cannot expect the situation in that long-suffering land to stabilize.

Not surprisingly, some illegal acts on interethnic grounds were committed yesterday. A car convoy which was transporting fuel to the rayon center was fired on near Chldran village of Mardakertskiy Rayon. There was gunfire in Martuninskiy Rayon. Fortunately, there were no casualties.

In the meantime, [the Azerbaijanis] are moving armed people dressed in militia uniforms into the Azerbaijani villages in the oblast. What is their aim? This question deeply disturbs the people of Artsakh [NKAO] for they are left with only the support of the army, which as usual comes to their assistance too late. The oblast soviet of people's deputies and the rayon and city soviets' executive committees sent a cable to USSR President Gorbachev, Defense Minister D. Yazov, and Interior Affairs Minister V. Bakatin on this issue. The cable expresses uneasiness over the bringing of more armed people into the Azerbaijani settlements. This is a very destabilizing act. The cable asks for immediate measures to bring about the withdrawal of these detachments from their deployed locations. Otherwise there will be a natural need to introduce Armenian militia divisions into the Armenian settlements

Official Reports Planned Administrative Changes

NC2209184190 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report on Armenian Supreme Soviet session on 17 September]

[Excerpt] Yerevan, 19 September (ARMENPRES)—[passage omitted] Speaking at the Armenian Supreme Soviet, V. Manukyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Republic, talked about the fourth point of a draft decision which deals with the government structure of the republic. The State Agro-Industrial Committee is being abolished. In its place are being created a Ministry of Agriculture [gughatntesutyan ministrutyun], Ministry of Foodstuff Industry [snndaardunaberakan ministrutyun], and separate production associations.

The State Committee for Construction Affairs is also being abolished. It is being replaced by a Ministry of Construction [shinararutyan ministrutyun] and a State Committee for Architecture and Urban Construction [chartarapetutyan u kagakashinutyan petakan komite]. The State Planning Committee is being replaced by a State Committee on Economy [ekonomikayi petakan komite] which will look into socioeconomic plans and concepts and engage in the formulation and implementation of the reforms in connection with the transition to market relations.

A totally new ministry named Foreign Economic Relations Ministry [artakin tntesakan kaperi ministrutyun] is

being set up. A Ministry of Labor and Social Security [ashkhatanki u sotsialakan apahovutyan ministrutyun] is being set up by combining the State Committee for Labor, State Committee for the Reception and Settlement of the Armenians Returning to the Armenian republic, and Ministry of Social Security.

A number of state commissions will be function under the Council of Ministers. Some existing ministries and state committees are being transformed into republican production units. A State Committee for the Implementation of Special Economic Plans [hatuk tntesakan tsragreri iragortsman petakan komite] is also being created. Its basic task will be to formulate and implement state plans to ensure the economic independence of Artsakh and its cultural ties with Armenia.

In assessing the changes envisaged in the government structure, V. Manukyan noted that they are necessitated by the new political order in the republic, by new principles, and by the requirements of future economic development. He also replied to deputies' questions and provided explanations on separate points of the draft decision. [passage omitted]

Ministerial Appointments Announced

NC2209104590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Excerpts] As you already know from our broadcasts, yesterday the Armenian Supreme Soviet elected the first deputy chairman and the two deputy chairmen of the Republic's Council of Ministers. Today's morning session continued the debate on the formation of the government. The session opened with a debate on the nomination of Ashot Yesayan for the post of Labor and Social Security Minister [Ashkhatanki yev Sotsialakan Apohovutyan Nakharar]. In his speech, he gave the impression that he has expertise in this field and replied easily to the deputies' questions. One hundred sixty-one deputies voted for him and three abstained. The Supreme Soviet then passed a decision confirming Ashot Yerevan as the minister of labor and social security.

Yesayi Stepanyan, nominated to head the newly created Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations [Artakin Tntesakan Kaperi Nakhararutyun], also obtained the support of the deputies. [passage omitted] He received an absolute majority of votes. The Supreme Soviet then passed a decision confirming Yesayi Stepanyan as the minister of foreign Economic relations.

The evening session opened with a debate on the nomination of Artak Davityan to the post of trade minister [Arevtri Nakharar]. [passage omitted] He was elected minister of trade by an absolute majority of votes.

People's Deputy Gagik Martirosyan's nomination for the post of construction minister [shinararutyan nakharar] was also discussed. He did not deliver any report on his program but merely replied to the deputies' questions. The deputies voted in his favor, and the session passed a decision confirming him as the minister of construction. The session also passed a decision acceding to Gagik Martirosyan's (?wish to be relieved of his responsibilities as a deputy in the Supreme Soviet). [passage omitted]

At the final evening session at 1800 the Supreme Soviet discussed the nomination of Dzhanik Dzhanoyan to the post of finance minister [finansneri nakharar]. He received 151 votes and the Supreme Soviet then passed a decision confirming him as the finance minister.

At the close of the session Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers, put forward two more candidates. He proposed Grant Bagratyan for chairman of the State Committee for Economy [Ekonomikayi Petakan Komite] and Genrikh Ovanesyan for chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasts [Herustatesutyan yev Radiohagordumneri Petakan Komite]. It was decided to first debate these nominations at the relevant parliamentary commissions tomorrow morning and then to submit the proposals to the Supreme Soviet at 1400.

Armenian Trade Unions Call for Independence

NC2209144690 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian trade unions have published a draft declaration announcing the creation of independent trade unions in Armenia. The trade unions' objectives will be to bring together all the social strata of the Armenian people in order to bolster state independence, bring prosperity, enhance ties with the diaspora Armenians, and act as an independent entity to obtain representation at the international trade unions organizations. The declaration states that the Armenian trade unions are independent. They are not accountable or subordinate to the state administration, state economic organs, or political and public organizations.

'Last' Armenian Communist Party Congress Opens

LD2509103890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Today in Yerevan the congress of the Armenian Communist Party opened. Clearly it will become the last one in the history of the Communist Party of this republic as most Armenian Communists are of a mind to break with the CPSU.

Baku Newspaper Cites Interview With Mutalibov

LD2409173990 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeria 9 Sep 90 p 1

["Ayaz Mutalibov: 'There Cannot be Any Talks on Nagorno-Karabakh'"—KOMMUNIST headline]

[Text] After the postponement of the president's decree on disarming national units and resumption of armed

clashes on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border, Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan, appealed to Supreme Soviets of all Union republics on 21 August. The appeal says: "Putting into use the real means of disarmament will cause political destabilization in the region, and as far as its nature is concerned it means that the Union will in fact refrain from fulfilling its constitutional responsibility for one member of the Federation, i.e. Azerbaijan."

The following day, the president of Azerbaijan gave an interview to Ila Balakhanov, correspondent of KOMMERSANT.

[KOMMERSANT] What do you think about a useful solution of the problems concerning relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia?

[Mutalibov] Genocide in fact was carried out over 70 years against Azerbaijanis living in Armenia, and we are not the ones who raise hue and cry against genocide. If a political assessment of Sumgait events is needed, then it is necessary to make a political assessment of the republic of Armenia for moving, to put it mildly, the Azerbaijanis who once constituted half of the population of Armenia. The USSR Governmnt has not secured adherence to constitutional rights of Azerbaijanis living in Armenia.

However, we must find ways to end this tension, but on one condition: There should not be any interference in the internal affairs of Azerbaijan. We do not agree to any talks on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. As far as the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh are concerned, Azerbaijan must solve their problems. Armenians must show principledness and must understand that they themselves are brandishing the ax over the heads of their blood-brothers—Armenians living in Azerbiajan.

[KOMMERSANT] Your opinion on the new chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet?"

[Mutalibov] Ter-Petrosyan is the initiator, strategist, script-writer, and director of the Karabakh tragedy. To believe that he would change his attitude after he came to power would be simple-mindedness. In this case, his audience would reject him.

[KOMMERSANT] What do you think of Azerbaijan's position in the new system of Union relations?

[Mutalibov] I firmly believe that in these conditions, Azerbaijan blindly leaving the Soviet Union would be tantamount to death. Future Union relations must be on the basis of a confederation. Defense—in my opinion it would be more reasonable if each member of the Federation kept its own army—the question of protecting the boundaries of the USSR as a whole, other global questions concerning state law, programs of ecological and other nature could be relegated to the center. All remaing questions must be within the framework of the exceptional rights of the governments of the sovereign states. This above all would put an end to dependence on others and consumer relations which had always existed, because we all would refer to the center and the center would wash its hands of us. (No. 33, 1990 KOMMERSANT weekly journal).

Azerbaijan Ministers Discuss Scrap Metal Collection

NC2109200590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] The regular meeting held by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers Presidium under Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, examined the way the decision adopted by the Azerbaijan SSR's presidential council on 14 August 1990 in connection with the organization of the work carried out to gather and [word indistinct] ferrous and non-ferrous metals is being realized. The meeting noted that the removal of the backwardness allowed for the fulfillment of the State's demands for the collection of scrap metal since the beginning of the year and the realization of the tasks established by the presidential council for the procuring of 50,000 tons of scrap metal in addition to the figures included in the plan for exporting scrap metals in 1990 is of significant political, economic, and social importance.

However, the situation does not inspire hope. According to the results of the past eight months, the republic has not been able to find more than 83,000 tons of scrap metal.

The republic's council of ministers presidium has demanded that all the leading workers responsible at every level for the collection of scrap metal reconsider the fulfillment of the tasks related to the orders placed by the State since the beginning of the year and (?have those responsible for failing to realize these tasks) seriously penalized.

The meeting gave concrete instructions to the pertinent organizations.

Georgian Opposition Groups Wage Armed Attacks

PM2109114190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent L. Arshantsev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Sound of Shooting Again"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 19 Sep—The passions roused by the sacking of the republic KGB building had had no time to subside in the city before the situation sharply worsened again. The confrontation between parties belonging to the "Round Table" coalition and the opposition Coordinating Center bloc erupted with an exchange of gunfire. At 1800 on 18 September, members of the "Mkhedrioni" paramilitary society attacked and beat up V. Adamia, chairman of the "M. Kostava Society," and people accompanying him in the Tbilisi Hotel. Automatic weapons and pistols were fired to scare off the attackers. That same day, at an evening rally at Government House, the incensed leader of the "Round Table,"

Z. Gamsakhurdia, warned his opponents from the Coordinating Center that he would unleash a civil war against them if such acts were repeated.

The warning was not, however, the end of the matter. At 0440 on 19 September, bullets flew in the opposite direction: The Coordinating Center's headquarters on Rustaveli Avenue came under fire. Let us recall that this is not the first time that accounts have been settled in this fashion. And again representatives of the law-enforcement agencies were unable to control the sharply worsened crime situation in the Georgian capital. The city's population, hostage to the unpredictable play of ambitions of power-hungry groupings, can only voice its outrage. The timidity of the official authorities in the face of criminals, compounded by the equal timidity of the mass media which "balk at" giving a political assessment of the prevailing situation of crisis, give grounds for thinking that not all the acts of the "crime spectacular" being played out on the streets of Tbilisi have yet been performed.

Situation 'Complex and Contradictory'

LD2109220390 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] There is a complex and contradictory situation in Georgia on the threshold of two important events: elections on 30 September to a national congress planned as an alternative to Georgia's parliament, and multiparty elections to Georgia's Supreme Soviet to be held on 28 October for the first time in this country. Six blocs of various political parties will take part in the elections, as our correspondent examines the situation:

No Soviet republic has so far had any experience of multiparty elections. This explains why a number of political groups in Georgia are too nervous and why they try to talk the language of demands and threats. Reports from Georgia's capital, Tbilisi, say the Georgian KGB premises have been picketed by members of the righteous (Ilya) Society, demanding that the KGB building be pulled down. Women in black have been continuing their action at the government house for the second week. Traditionally dressed in black, Georgian widows have been addressing their complaints to the law-enforcement agencies and their officials. Hooligans hurled bottles with explosives into the headquarters of Georgia's National Independence Party and did much damage to the building on Wednesday night.

INTERFAX reports that there has been a shoot-out on the Rustaveli Avenue, the main street in Tbilisi. Local observers blame tragic incidents in Georgia above all on the rift in the national movement and the antagonism between the leaders of the political parties numbering over 100 in Georgia today. And it is in this dissonance that the nations of that republic are to make their choice.

Here is how the noted Georgian philosopher, Merat Mamadashvili, assesses the situation: Emotionally it is of course tragic to look at what is going on in Georgia. But emotions are not common sense yet. Shouts in the street cannot be regarded as the nation's view. The street inspires ordinary urbanites without political experience in Georgia. It is very hard to understand what the people, most of whom born after the Stalin's epoch, want today. Regrettably there is nothing that accurately reflects the social temperature of society. Some National Movement representatives in Georgia today are trying to be censors, denying the other's right to state their view. I cannot understand how human rights activists are making a system out of the violation of civil rights. This means ignorance and total immorality. If this is not exposed there will be trouble in Georgia very soon.

16 Sep Attack on Georgian KGB Detailed

PM2109150190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR KGB"]

[Text] On the night of 16 September, the Georgian KGB building in Tbilisi was attacked by a mob after an unauthorized rally. Around 100 people broke into the building and smashed windows, furniture, and telephones using iron bars, lengths of steel pipe, and crowbars. Some of the attackers got into the offices of the investigation department and stole a number of documents, video equipment, and officers' personal effects.

The small group of committee personnel that was in the building did not use weapons against the attackers for purely humanitarian reasons.

The attackers demanded the disbandment of the Georgian KGB and also the release of someone detained on suspicion of killing the deputy chief of the Adigenskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department. They threatened further outrages, including physical violence against officers, if their demands were not met. After a while the attackers left the building. The situation remains tense around the Georgian KGB.

The USSR KGB Collegium expresses profound indignation at the act of vandalism against the Georgian KGB and deems it necessary to make the following statement.

The attack on the Georgian KGB building is an extreme manifestation of the unbridled campaign against state security organs. Its purpose—to cut, dismember, and even eliminate the KGB—objectively links up with the propaganda inspired by certain Western special services and is being foisted on public opinion by those forces whom the KGB is evidently preventing from carrying out unlawful activities. Nor is it an accident that the attacks on the KGB intensified after it embarked on a struggle against organized crime and achieved the first visible results in that area.

The campaign against the state security organs takes the form of moral pressure on officers, threats of physical

violence against them, and the blockading of the buildings of territorial organs as in the Baltic area, western oblasts of the Ukraine, and some other parts.

The KGB does not consider itself above criticism, believing that in a democratic society criticism helps to improve the work of state structures. However, when under cover of democratization and glasnost attempts are being made and now action is being taken to discredit the USSR KGB, this damages the security system of the country as a whole.

Despite the nonchalant and conciliatory attitude that is typical of a section of the public, it should be said that objective reality indicates an activation of intelligence work by foreign special services against our country. As the Soviet Union expands its links with the world, intelligence services are seeking new means of access to our political and economic secrets. Organized crime is continuing to grow in the country. Serious crimes are being committed in the economic sphere. It goes without saying that those who are making attacks on the KGB are not serving the cause of stabilization of the situation in the country.

In order to whip up the campaign against the state security organs, responsibility for breaches of law and order by the People's Internal Affairs Commissariat-State Security Ministry in the thirties, forties, and early fifties is being arbitrarily transferred to today's KGB. The tragic activities of the state security organs are now a thing of the past. There can be no going back to that era. One guarantee of this is the lives of the more than 20,000 security officers who died during the era of Stalinist repression.

By no means everyone knows that the security officers, being in possession of real and unembellished information about the state of affairs in the country, realized sooner than many other people that decisive changes were needed in our society. Therefore they wholeheartedly took on board the ideas of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost. As far as we are concerned, perestroyka increases work efficiency in all areas, above all in intelligence; counterintelligence; guarding of the border; and the struggle against organized crime, smuggling, narcotics, and terrorism. It provides sure protection for the Soviet constitutional system and protection for the Soviet citizen's rights and freedoms. It strengthens the legislative foundation of the activities of all the committee's subunits. A rule-of-law society needs a public law on KGB organs. And we are in favor of its immediate adoption.

As far as the state security organs' officers are concerned, their duty at the moment is to promote perestroyka and actively counter negative manifestations that jeopardize the foundations of the Soviet multinational citizen's rights and freedoms. It strengthens the legislative foundation of the activities of all the committee's subunits. A rule-of-law society needs a public law on KGB organs. And we are in favor of its immediate adoption.

As far as the state security organs' officers are concerned, their duty at the moment is to promote perestroyka and actively counter negative manifestations that jeopardize the foundations of the Soviet multinational state's existence.

Soviet security officers are thoroughly confident that in dealing with these complex tasks they will always be with the people, relying on their active support, without which the KGB cannot operate successfully.

Reconciliation Sought in Georgian Liberation Group

LD2509063490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1712 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Tbilisi, 24 Sep (Gruzinform-TASS)—Participants in an extraordinary conference, which has today completed its work in the capital of this Transcaucasian republic, appealed for the creation of a conciliation commission in order to reconcile two wings—radical and liberal—of the Georgian national liberation movement.

The conference has been conducted by Akakiy Bakradze, famous Georgian writer, who does not belong to any political organization. The conference discussed the situation which has taken shape in the national liberation movement and issues connected with the elections to the national Georgian Congress and the republican Supreme Soviet.

The resolution which has been adopted contains, in particular, an appeal for all political organizations of the Georgian national liberation movement to be united in a coordination center and for a wide strata of the republic's population to take part in the forthcoming elections to the national congress which are to take place on 30 September.

The conference condemned the attacks on the headquarters of political parties which took place on 19 September this year. The resolution contains a suggestion to all the parties which are members of the confronting "roundtable" to refrain from mutual accusations in mass media, at least for the period before the elections.

'Inexperience' Seen in Georgian Election Campaigns

LD2409142490 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 24 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—One month before the Georgian parliamentary elections, the campaign in the Republic is moving into high gear.

In the run-up to the October 28 poll, inexperience of democratic elections is becoming increasingly evident.

The Society of St. Elijah the Righteous, one of the most radical political organisations, headed by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, one of the main contenders for the post of a future leader of the republic, is particularly notorious in this respect, analysts note.

In Tbilisi last week, supporters of this organisation once again attacked the local State Security Committee (KGB) building demanding the freeing of a society member suspected of killing a militiaman.

About 100 militants burst into the premises of the investigation department of the committee, smashed windows, furniture and telephone sets with metal rods, pipes and crow-bars, and stole documents, video equipment and personal belongings of staff members.

The society demanded the elimination of the Georgian KGB and the establishment of an independent national security service in the Republic.

In summer this year the Society of St. Elijah the Righteous and a number of other political parties which are part of the roundtable coalition, made political demands and immediately backed them up by sabotaging the Transcaucasian Railway. As a result, railway traffic in the Republic was at a standstill for several days.

However, radical opposition parties are also busy settling scores between themselves.

In Tbilisi on September 20, for example, a confrontation between the roundtable coalition parties and the opposing coordination centre bloc again led to a shootout.

The day before, unidentified individuals burned down the National Independence Party headquarters. The premises of the leadership of the National Democratic Party of Georgia were smashed in a similar manner on the same day. In both cases no culprits were identified.

In all these cases, the authorities of the Republic took a neutral attitude and limited themselves to calling on the political parties and the population to show maximum restraint and to tackle all problems through political dialogue.

Central Asia

Draft Kazakh Sovereignty Declaration Published

PM2509084790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by V. Ardayev: "Draft Declaration Under Discussion"]

[Text] A draft declaration on Kazakhstan's state sovereignty has been published in the republic.

The document proclaims the state sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] throughout its territory. It lays down that the republic, endeavoring to set up a democratic rule-of-law state and relying on the principles of the free self-determination of its people and equality, should voluntarily unite with other republics in a union of sovereign republics and found its relations with them on a treaty basis. It envisages that the Kazakh SSR will have its own citizenship and guarantee each citizen the right to retain Union citizenship. The draft guarantees all citizens, as well as those living on Kazakh SSR territory without citizenship, equal rights and freedoms envisaged by the republic's constitution and generally recognized norms of international law.

The draft also envisages that the republic will be entitled to suspend the operation on its territory of laws and other supreme Union acts that violate its rights and constitution. It declares the republic's right to its own share of all-Union property in accordance with the contribution of Kazakhstan's people, including diamond and hard-currency stocks and gold reserves. A separate point clarifies that "production, storage, and testing of nuclear weapons are forbidden on the territory of the Kazakh SSR with a view to ensuring environmental safety and the preservation of the gene pool."

In accordance with this document, the Kazakh SSR is to possess the right to its own internal troops and organs of state and public security. The republic determines by agreement with the Union government the conditions for its citizens' performance of military service and service in organs of state and public security and the resolution of questions of the siting of troops and arms on its territory. The Kazakh SSR's right to act as an independent subject of international relations is proclaimed.

The draft declaration contains clauses that will certainly be the subject of serious disputes and disagreements, both during the nationwide discussion and within parliament, especially considering the multinational composition of Kazakhstan's population. For instance, there is the proclamation of the Kazakh language as the state language and of Russian as the official language in the republic. Also, there is a clause that retains the Kazakh SSR's right to freely secede from the Union "according to legally prescribed procedure and with regard for the interests of the indigenous nation."

The discussion of the draft will last a month. The second Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet session, which will consider adopting the declaration of state sovereignty as a top priority, is scheduled for 15 October.

Kirghiz Faction Bids To Boost Parliament's Role

PM2509082590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by A. Ryabushkin: "Statement by Deputies Group"]

[Text] Frunze—The deputies group "For Democratic Renewal and Civic Harmony in Kirghizia" has been set up in the republic.

Local newspapers published its program document on their front pages on 18 September. The platform, signed by 114 parliamentarians, stated: "It has now become obvious that the bureaucratic-edict system, which has hitherto kept a tight hold on the levers of administration,

is incapable of extricating the republic from its profound crisis. Especially as, unlike most other regions, which have resolutely embarked on the path of genuine democratization and revolutionary renewal, the conservatives among us have been aggressive and tenacious. The party bureaucracy is still in no hurry to hand over real power to the soviets or to stand alongside the new sociopolitical movements, thereby also sharing its responsibility to the people. From the very start of perestroyka the party and economic bureaucracy has sought to wreck all political initiative from below and only at the very last moment agreed to certain concessions in the development of democratic processes. The saddest aspect is that the new and democratically elected Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has become a 'hostage' to this practice. While proclaiming their full authority, the majority of people's deputies have essentially been removed from the running of real processes by the political structures."

The group stated that, for all intents and purposes, the Supreme Soviet has been deprived of the opportunity to swiftly react to the most acute and dramatic processes that are literally shaking the republic. Up until now, parliamentarians have had no chance to state their opinions on the tragic events in Osh Oblast. Most of them have received virtually no information on the investigation or on the causes behind the severe interethnic clashes. No attempt has even been made to convene a Supreme Soviet session. Everything has been decided, as before, at party committee level, but not sufficiently objectively or with an appropriately principled approach.

The "For Democratic Renewal and Civic Harmony in Kirghizia" parliamentary faction intends to elaborate its own view of these sociopolitical, social, and economic processes through open discussion to make legislative initiatives and to prepare alternative draft laws, decisions, and other Supreme Soviet documents. It is planning through constitutional and democratic methods to dismantle the bureaucratic-edict system, to establish organs of people's power at all levels, and to really enhance the living standard of all residents of Kirghizia. It advocates the introduction of a presidency in the republic.

The new political force in Kirghizia is making its presence felt. Will it be supported by the parliament and the people? Time will tell.